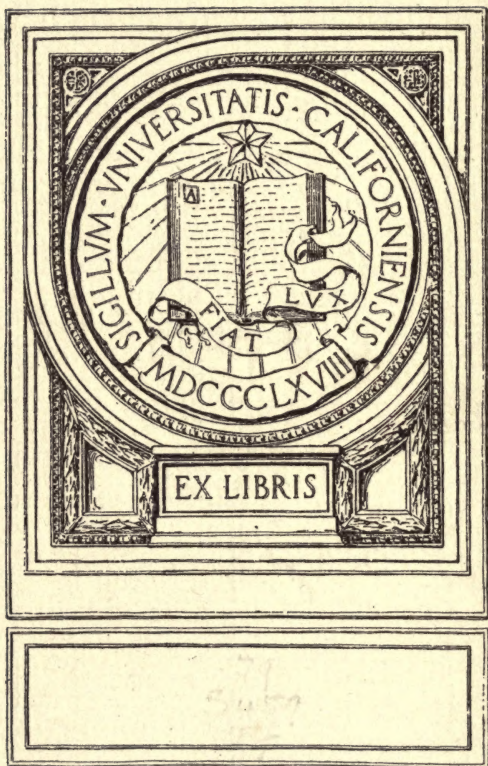
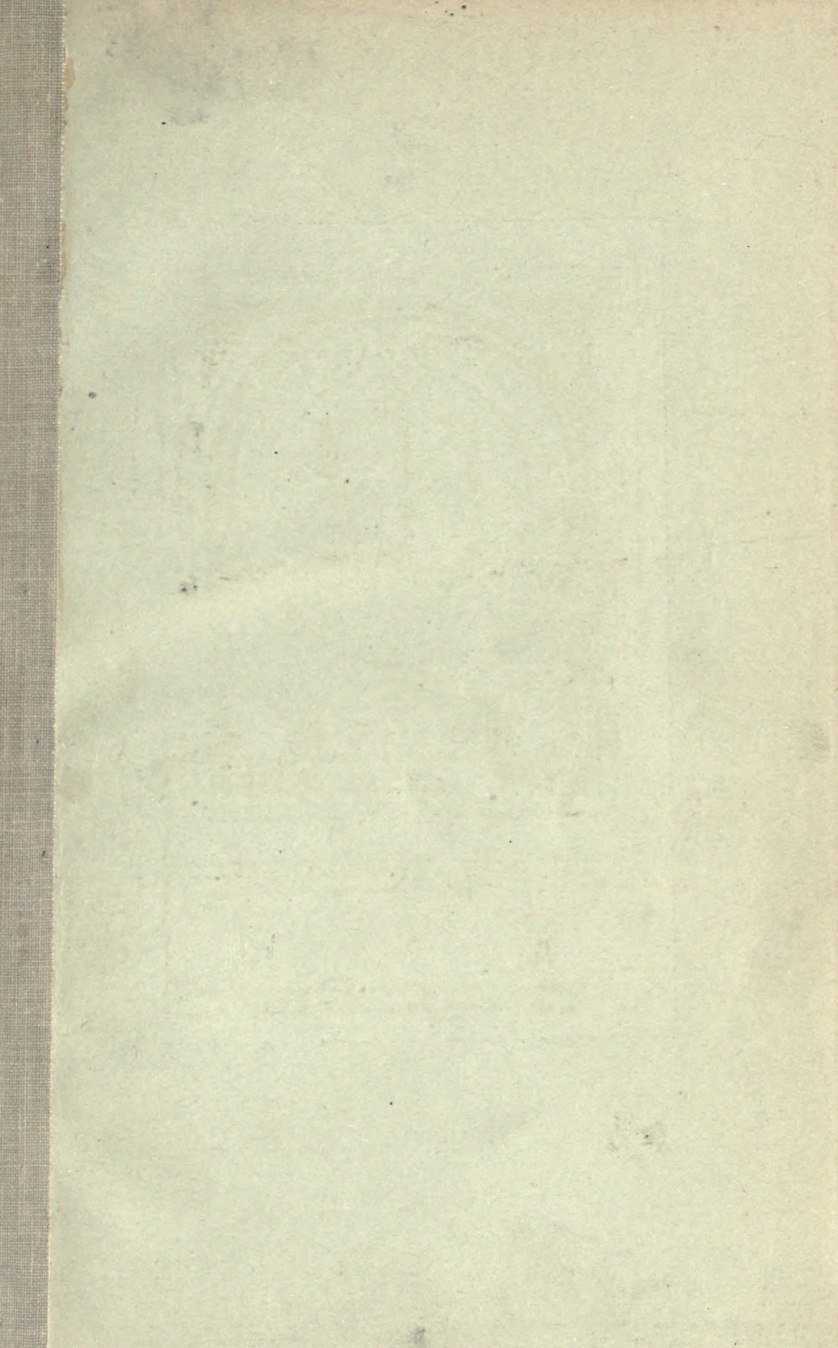


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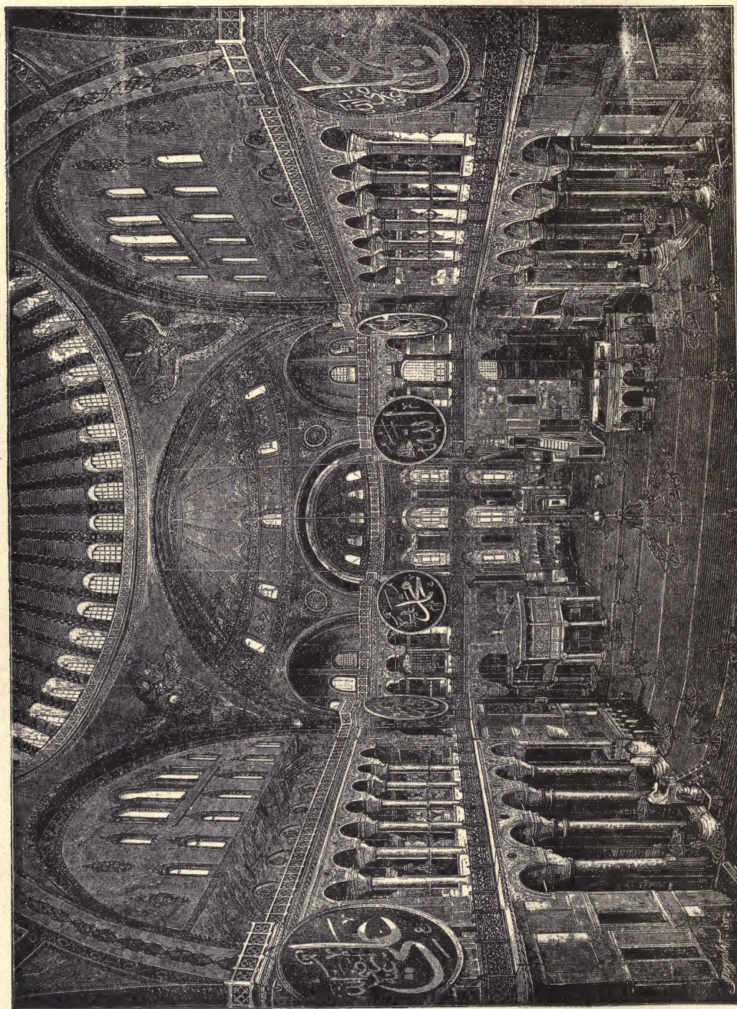






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HISTORY
OF
THE ROMAN PEOPLE

BY *blue*
CHARLES SEIGNOBOS

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

TRANSLATION EDITED BY
WILLIAM FAIRLEY, PH.D.



NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
1912

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HISTORY I

TO THE
LIBRARY OF

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE history here presented has preëminently the charm, so characteristic of French historical writing, of graphic presentation. This quality in it will be found not the least among its reasons for claiming a place among the many Roman histories now in the field.

The task of the American editor has been a simple one. His aim has been to fit the French work to American classroom use. The judgments of M. Seignobos have not been altered in the text. A divergent view has occasionally been alluded to in a note by the editor.

Some slight additions have been made. These, in the body of the text are indicated by an asterisk, and in the notes by brackets. The original work was carried only through the reign of Theodosius I. As the requirements of our American schools call for a treatment of the period from that time to Charlemagne, such an addition will be found in Chapters XXVIII-XXXII. In these chapters there is no claim to originality, even of presentation, owing to the extreme conciseness necessary.

Some omissions have been made from the French work. The wealth of anecdotal material was very great, and some of this has been dropped; not a little of the detail of military movements has also been left out.

To each chapter has been appended a short list of sources in English, so far as such are available, and of suggestions for parallel reading. In drawing up the latter regard has

been had to the topical method of study, so that where members of a class are using different books, it will be easy from these lists to find the same topic in the various books in common use. The best known treatises and text-books have been indicated simply by authors' names. In Appendix F will be found a complete list of books referred to.

Legends and anecdotes are printed in small type.

W. F.

NEW YORK, June, 1902.

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HISTORY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANCIENT POPULATIONS OF ITALY.

Italy.—Italy¹ is a broad peninsula which stretches out into the Mediterranean Sea, beginning at the eastern limit of the French coast and extending in the direction of Greece. The two coast-lines are almost parallel, the width of the peninsula being almost uniform throughout, until it divides into two parts; it has thus very much the form of a boot, with the heel towards Greece and the toe touching Sicily.

Throughout its whole extent the interior of Italy consists of a massive range of gray, rocky mountains, the Apennines, which reach at their highest point an elevation of 9500 feet. Their sharpest decline is towards the east, where they descend to the Adriatic Sea. This side shows only short, narrow valleys separated by precipitous walls of rock. On the west, towards the Tyrrhenian Sea, the mountains sink into a country of hills and fertile plains. The sea came originally to the foot of the mountains and formed gulfs there, but the volcanoes have filled the gulfs with lava, slag, and ashes, thus

¹ The name Italy did not mean the same to the ancient Romans that it does to us. We include under this name all the territory south of the Alps; not simply the peninsula, but the valleys of the Po and the Adige and the coast of the Gulf of Genoa. Up to the first century the ancients called the peninsula alone Italy. The name was gradually extended after that time.

forming new land: To the westward, therefore, flow all the chief rivers; and there lie the fertile sections (Tuscany, Latium, Campania) where were developed the great peoples of ancient Italy.

On the south the mountains fall abruptly. The two points in which Italy terminates, called by the ancients the two "horns," are not part of the Apennines. The point which turns toward Greece, to the east of Tarentum, is a low plateau, gray and barren, dusty and dreary, scorched by the sun. The point which turns towards Sicily is formed by two solid masses of granite. The first, the Sila range, separated from the Apennines by a broad plain, is covered with forests throughout its vast extent; attaining at its highest point an elevation of over 6000 feet, it descends on three sides with the abruptness of a wall, through whose narrow gorges rushing torrents force their way. This region has always been the resort of brigands (Calabria). The other range, joined to Sila by a narrow ridge of low, rounded hills, is a plateau commanded by peaks 6500 feet in height. The forests which cover it furnished the ancients with timber for houses and ships, and a famous brand of pitch.

Climate.—Italy has a mild, damp climate. The winter is short. For some weeks the Aquilo blows, a north wind, cold and clear, which drives away the mists. But it rarely freezes in the plains, and snow is seen only on the mountains. February brings a mild, soft wind from the west, called by the ancients Favonius, the favorable. Then the swallows return, the almond-trees blossom, and spring is begun.

Spring, too, is a short season, at least in southern Italy. With May comes a dry and burning summer which scorches all vegetation that is not watered constantly. As in Greece, this drought lasts almost four months. After the end of March in the northern and central plains the prevailing wind is from the south (Auster, the burning). It brings an oppressive heat, a suffocating vapor which affects the trans-

parency of the air, and at times brings violent storms with thunder and hail.

This trying and unwholesome summer lasts until September. Then autumn begins, the season of heavy rains, lasting until November. The precipitation is greater in Italy in these three months than in a whole year in Germany.

Streams.—This water, falling in torrents on the steep mountain-sides, is swiftly borne down by rushing torrents, loaded with earth and pebbles which they either deposit as they go or carry along to the sea. During the dry summer season these torrents are reduced to a narrow stream of water running through a wide bed of dry stones.

The calcareous Apennine rocks, full as they are of crevices and gaps, do not throw off all the rain and melted snow on the surface, but receive it into the interior of the mountain, whence it issues in great springs at the base. The waters thus stored finally emerge to feed the rivers during the dry season.

Coast.—The coasts of Italy are straight, only slightly indented and almost without natural harbors, while the débris brought by the mountain torrents forms sand-bars across the mouths of the rivers.

On the Adriatic the shore is lined with lagoons and sand-bars which forbid the approach of ships. The sea is disturbed, especially in winter, by violent northerly storms.

On the Ionian Sea there was really only one good harbor, Tarentum, and this is to-day blocked with sand.

The western coast is more favorable, although natural harbors are infrequent. Only in two places, in Tuscany and in the Bay of Naples, do we find islands, and deep water near the shore. Here the ancients had their chief ports.

Italy is not, like Greece, a country fitted by nature for maritime enterprise. The ancient peoples of Italy were not sailors; they were farmers in the lowlands, shepherds in the mountains.

Umbrians.—In the heart of the Apennines, surrounded by the highest peaks, lies a country of narrow valleys and low mountains, crossed by a wide fertile valley which falls toward the western coast.

Here dwelt the Umbrians, a race of shepherds and tillers of the soil. They lived in small fortified towns built on the hills which guard the valleys. It is said that they were once a great people settled throughout the whole of Tuscany and the Po valley, and that they were driven back into the mountains by new peoples. They did not form a united nation, each city being a small state in itself. They all, however, spoke the same language, resembling Latin somewhat as French resembles Italian.

Sabines.—South of Umbria rises a huge mass of wild mountains surrounded on all sides by rocky walls which form a sort of natural fortress. These are to-day called the Abruzzi, now a region of brigands. Farther to the westward extends a long range of lower and more sloping mountains, intersected by the valley of the Anio. These are the Sabine Mountains.

This was formerly the country of the Sabines, a race of warlike peasants, with the reputation of sober, honest, hard-working farmers. They tilled with the spade the stony and arid soil of their mountains, and dwelt in huts grouped in open villages. Their language was much like Latin.

Sabellians.—From this Sabine country are said to have issued most of the mountain peoples of Italy. They were called *Sabellians* (the same name as *Sabines*), and their origin is explained only by legends.

We are told that the Sabines, in times of misfortune, believing the gods angry, sought to appease them by a grand sacrifice. They vowed, or rather consecrated, to their god all that should be born to them within the ensuing year. This was called a Sacred Spring. All children born within the year belonged to the god. As soon as they were full grown they went away to settle wherever they might. Thus several bands broke away from the Sabines at different intervals. Each had followed a

sacred animal, a wolf, a bull, or a woodpecker, as a messenger from the god; where the animal rested, there the band established itself and became a people.

Many peoples derived their names from this custom: the Picentines, the people of the woodpecker (*picus*); the Hirpini, or people of the wolf (*hirpus*). Others took the name of a god, such as the Marsi and the Vestini.

These Sabellians had peopled all the mountains of Italy. They held the great central ranges. They occupied the Adriatic slope. They inhabited the mountain chains bordering the plains (the Hernici and Æqui). Finally they even came down into the plains and settled among the hills along the coast (Volsci).

Isolated as they were in their mountain homes, they remained uncivilized and quarrelsome, and devoted themselves to raising cattle and cultivating their bits of land. Almost without exception they lived in the country and built no cities. On some of the steep mountain-tops they built fortresses where in time of war they sheltered their families and their herds. They grouped themselves in small clans under chiefs who led them in war, but each people formed an independent state.

Samnites.—Of all the Sabellians, the most powerful were the Samnites. These were a confederation of four peoples established in the heart of the Apennines, in a country of rugged barren mountains, difficult of access, and broken by narrow gorges—a land whose pastures were better adapted to sheep and goats than to cattle.

The Samnites became a fighting people. The young men, too numerous to make a living in this poor country, went as soldiers into the service of the rich cities of the plains. They came home with rich armor, silver shields, gold collars, and jewels.

Towards the sixth century B.C. many bands of Samnite soldiers settled in these foreign districts, overcame the inhabitants, and formed new peoples, the Lucanians, Brut-

tians, and Campanians.¹ For a hundred years these mountaineers controlled southern Italy.

Magna Græcia.—Southern Italy, composed of low plains and hills, turns towards Greece. From the farthest point one may, on a clear day, see the mountains on the islands of the opposite coast.

The former inhabitants of this country, the Iapygians, probably came from the other side of the Adriatic, from the region which the ancients called Illyria. Their language was similar to the Illyrian.

Then at the end of the eighth century B.C. Greek colonies arrived. They settled in the most fertile plains and on the neighboring coasts wherever ships might land. They built fortified towns; each formed a "city" (*civitas*, *πόλις*), that is to say, an independent state governing itself and making war on the others. There was the same life as in Greece, but richer; each city had a large extent of territory covered with fields of grain, pastures for horses, vineyards and olive-trees.

The most powerful of these cities were Sybaris, famous for its luxury; Croton, the warlike city which destroyed Sybaris; and Tarentum, the great port of southern Italy.

These Greeks had occupied only a part of the country. The former inhabitants remained side by side with them, but were neither so rich, so powerful, nor so highly civilized. Slowly they adopted the language and customs of the Greeks. All southern Italy became a Greek country, known as MAGNA GRÆCIA.

Greeks of Campania.—On the other side of Italy, bordering on the Tyrrhenian Sea, were other Greek colonies, of very ancient origin.

The oldest of these, Cumæ, was built on a volcanic rock, 328 feet in height, descending sharply on three sides to the sea. Ships anchored below in the Bay of Baiæ. To the

¹ The Romans called this new people by the same name as the inhabitants of the country—Oscans.

southward lay Campania, a volcanic plain, celebrated for its fertility. The Cumæan merchants sold grain to the Greeks, and Greek vases to the inhabitants of the country. The Cumæan sailors became famous pirates; their ships of war fought with the Etruscans and vanquished the Carthaginians.

Farther south, around the gulf where the best ports lie, Cumæ sent colonists who founded new Greek cities. Naples (Neapolis, new city) was one of these.

The Greeks in Campania were too few to transform the population. The old inhabitants, the Ausonians and Opici, settled in small inland cities, retained their language and customs until the Etruscans from the north, followed by the Samnites from the mountains, came to conquer them and change their mode of life.

Etruria.—In the northwestern part of the peninsula of Italy, between the Apennines and the sea, lies a strange country. Sombre mountains, old extinct volcanoes scattered here and there in disorder, surround small cultivated plains. The waters, unable to flow forth, gather in swamps on the plains or in deep lakes at the foot of the mountains. Some of these lakes, the smallest and deepest, fill the bowls of former craters. This is the land the ancients called Etruria.¹

Formed in part of débris from volcanoes, this country is fertile; plains, valleys, and hills formerly yielded rich harvests of grain. The mass of wooded mountains in the centre formed the Ciminian forest, gloomy and deserted. It was not to be crossed without danger and, as it cut Etruria in two, made communication difficult. The southern region, which was smaller and lower, extended as far as the Tiber.

The coast of our day is sandy and bordered by a great plain dotted over with malarial marshes (the Maremma). In ancient times it was doubtless less obstructed and unwholesome. Ports were there which have now dis-

¹ Etruria is now called Tuscany. Tuscany, however, extends farther to the north, beyond the Arno.

appeared; the most important of these were opposite the island of Elba.

Etruscans.—The people that inhabited this country were unlike any of their neighbors. The Greeks called them *Tuscans* or *Tyrrhenians*, the Romans *Etruscans*, which is the same name differently pronounced. They spoke a language very unlike any of the other languages in Italy. We know a few words of it from inscriptions, but no scholar has yet been able to explain them in full.

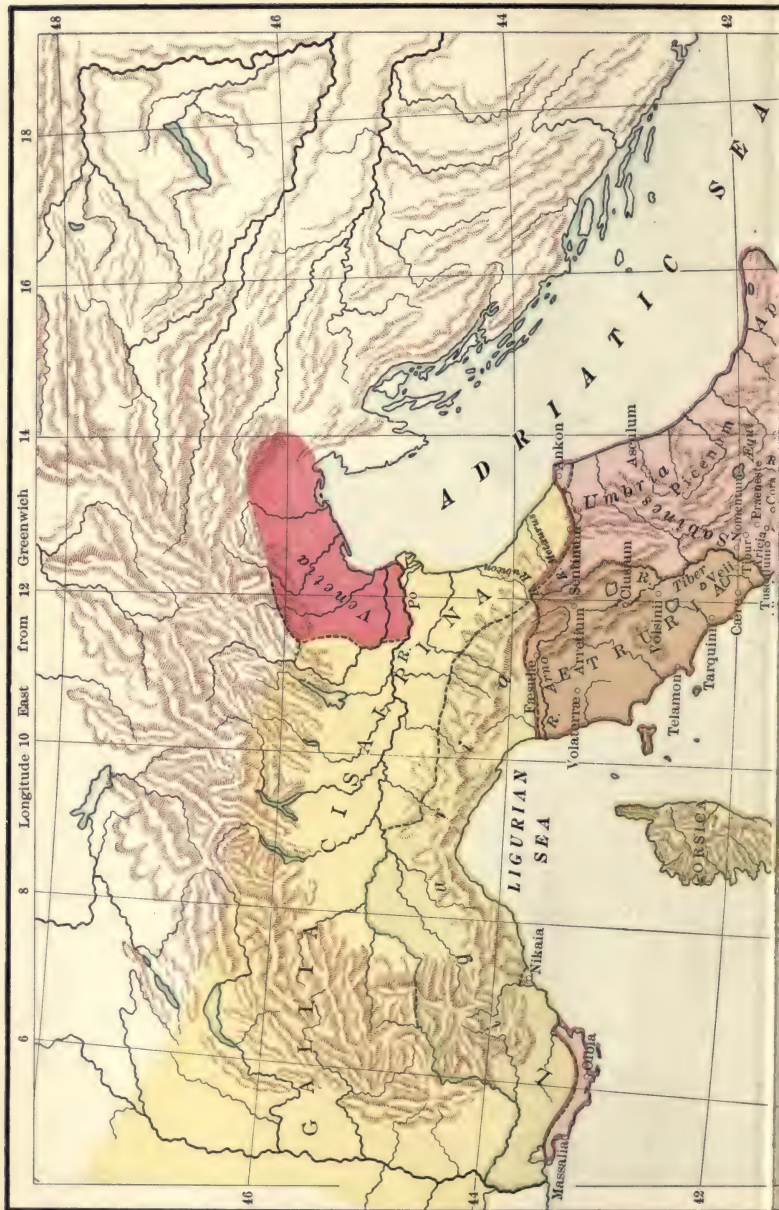
The Etruscans were said to be foreigners, but it is not known just where they came from. They may have come down from the Rhætian Alps on the north (the Tyrol).

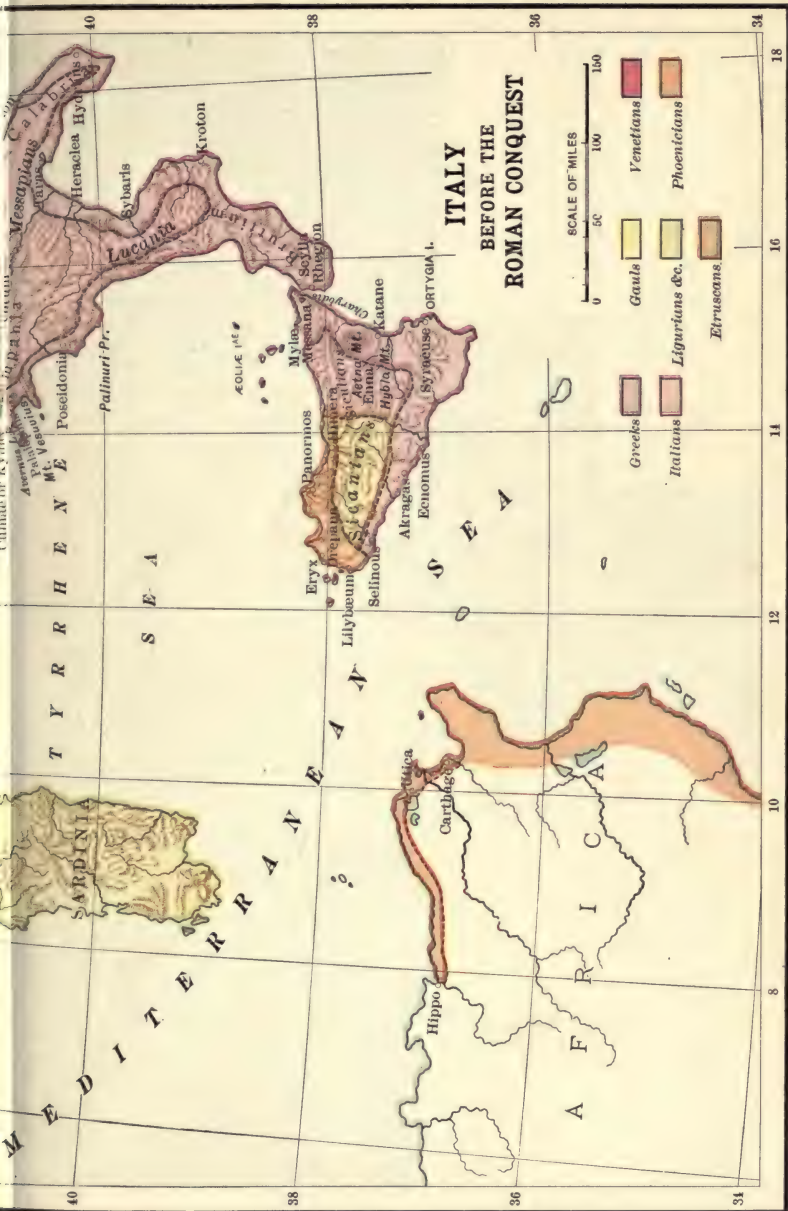
In this fertile country the Etruscans grew rich and powerful. Their cities, built on the mountains and surrounded by walls of enormous stone blocks, were the largest in Italy. Each had its own territory and formed an independent state. In these little states, the nobles (*lucumons*) held all the lands and wealth. They went to war in costly armor, and exacted obedience from all the other inhabitants.

In several cities there was a chief superior to the other nobles, a sort of king. He wore a robe bordered with purple, sat on an ivory chair, and was accompanied by lictors bearing rods and axes.

The twelve leading Etrurian cities celebrated a festival in the sanctuary of a goddess worshipped by all the Etruscans. The chiefs of all the cities held an assembly there, but there was no political confederation and each state made its own wars independent of the rest.

The Etruscan seaports had ships which navigated the whole coast as far as Sicily. Their commerce was chiefly with the Carthaginians who brought them the products of the East, ivory, purple stuffs, and Egyptian jewels. One of these cities, Cære, dealt even with the Greeks. The Greeks called it by a Phœnician name, Agylla (the round), and praised its inhabitants, the only Etruscans, they said, who were not pirates. The sailors of this period were ordinarily





armed; if they had a chance they pillaged ships and even the villages on the coast, carrying away the women and children to sell into slavery, and destroying their goods. The Etruscan sailors waged a pirate war on the Greek sailors, their rivals. The Greek poets called them the savage Tyrrhenians and told how the god Apollo, captured by Etruscan pirates, had punished them by changing them into dolphins.

There were also Etruscan cities in the valley of the Po, on the Adriatic coast: Bologna, Mantua, Ravenna, the date of whose foundation is unknown. They were taken from the Etruscans by the Gauls.

The Etruscans, advancing southward, overcame the lesser peoples of Latium and conquered the cities of Campania, where they introduced their modes of living. The most important of these cities was Capua.

Etruscan Religion.—The Etruscans believed in protecting divinities, of whom we know only the names, and that they were worshipped three together, one god and two goddesses. They worshipped also the souls of the dead, as powerful spirits that might do them evil. Even human victims were offered up to them. This was the beginning of the famous custom of gladiatorial contests.

Many Etruscan tombs have been discovered, some surmounted by a stone monument in the form of a dome. Within were chambers constructed as if to be occupied by the dead. The bodies were laid on beds of state, and surrounded by furniture, clothing, emblems, jewels—collars, rings, brooches, and bracelets—and great painted vases. The walls were often covered with pictures, representing chiefly sports, the massacre of captives, and banquets.

The Etruscans also believed in subterranean demons who conducted souls under the earth to the abode of the dead: Mantus, king of Hades, is represented in their pictures as a winged demon, a crown on his head and a torch in his hand; Charon, a hideous, ferocious old man, with long ears and

armed with a heavy mallet; other demons holding serpents in their hands with which they threaten their victims; and the horrible Tuculcha, a monster with an eagle's beak, ass's ears, and hair of serpents.

Soothsayers.—The Etruscan soothsayers had various ways of predicting the future. When an animal was brought to be sacrificed, they looked at its entrails, the form and position of its liver, heart, and lungs, and from that read the future according to certain rules of interpretation.

They also drew prognostications from thunder. Their usual method, however, was to watch the flight of birds. The soothsayer stood facing north, and with his bent staff in his right hand traced an imaginary square in the sky. In this space he watched the passing birds. If they passed to the right, it was a favorable sign; if to the left, an unfavorable sign. An eagle was a good sign, an owl a bad one. The laws of soothsaying were finally drawn up in a number of sacred books: on the flight of birds, on thunder, on ceremonies appropriate to public acts.

One day, says an Etruscan legend, while men were laboring in a field near Tarquinii, there sprang up from the ground a tiny man with the form of a child and the gray beard of a patriarch. It was the divinity Tages. He began to repeat the sacred rules of divination and ceremonies. The people gathered to hear him, and the king had his words written down. Immediately after Tages died.

The soothsayers predicted that the Etruscan people would endure for ten centuries. What they called a century was not exactly one hundred years, but the length of a human life. The soothsayers knew the end of a century by certain signs. In the year 44 B.C. a comet appeared. An Etruscan soothsayer declared in Rome that it announced the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth and last of the Etruscan people.

Etruscan Arts.—The Etruscans practised the principal arts of the civilized peoples of their time; they had learned them from the Carthaginians and the Greeks.

They extracted copper from the mountains of Etruria, and from the mountains of the island of Elba iron ore which they ground to extract the metal. The Etruscans did most of their work in metal. Of jewels, gold, and silver they made rings, collars, and clasps; they also made furniture, mirrors



ETRUSCAN SARCOPHAGUS.

of polished bronze surrounded with ornaments, and cups adorned with carving.

The famous Etruscan vases¹ were of baked clay, black, with designs in red, usually representing scenes in which the gods or the Greek heroes figure. Many came from Greek cities, but the Etruscans had learned to imitate them.

The Etruscan cities were built regularly with walls of cut stone and arched gates, broad, straight streets, paved with flags, and the houses separated by gutters. The Etruscans built underground drains supported by arches to draw off the water from the cities and from the swampy plains.

The Etruscans had adopted the ancient Greek alphabet.

*** Peoples of the North.**—In the northern part of Italy in the great basin of the Po, enclosed between the Alps and

¹ There are thousands of them in the museums, found in the tombs.

the Apennines, were found three other peoples. On the west, in the territory about the modern Genoa, lived the Ligurians, a people probably of non-Aryan stock, who until subdued were to make much trouble for Rome. On the east were the Veneti, akin to the Illyrians. Between these, and eventually dominating that entire end of Italy, the Gauls, a people of Celtic stock, thrust themselves in the sixth century B.C. The whole region became known as Gallia Cisalpina.¹

Latium.—From the heart of the Apennines descends a small swift stream, the Tiber, which flows out through a narrow plain. After the rains it becomes very yellow with the earth washed away from the mountains, and overflows its banks.

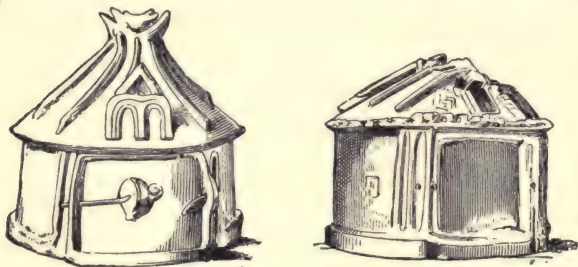
South of the Tiber we find Latium, a volcanic country. The Alban Mount, a great extinct volcano commanding the whole region, covered it in former times with slag, ashes, and lava. This mass of débris has mingled with the sand and clay to form a sort of soft stone, tufa, which is easily cut and is used for heavy construction. In this soft tufa the rains and torrents have cut narrow gorges, so that the country is now a chaos of sharp hills separated by deep ravines.

It is a very damp region, subject to heavy rains in winter and thunder-storms in summer. The water does not all flow down in the torrents or into the small lakes at the foot of the mountains; a part sinks into the earth. The porous soil retains the water like a sponge, until the burning heat of summer evaporates it. The air, thus charged with moisture, is heavy and unwholesome. In the lower parts of the valleys, especially near the sea, the water, unable to escape, forms swamps which spread fevers far and wide. This is the famous *malaria* (bad air). The district has always bred fever. The ancient inhabitants in several localities

¹ In Chapter VI will be found the story of the way in which these Gauls came near destroying Rome.

worshipped the goddess Fever.¹ They wore woollen garments, built fires in the open air, and built their houses close together on the heights, all of which seem to have been precautions against fever. The country, however, was not then, as it is to-day, an uninhabitable desert. Cultivation had rendered it dry and wholesome, while small underground drains drew off the water from the interior of the hills.

The Latins.—The inhabitants of Latium, the Latins, were of the same race as the Sabines of the mountains; they resembled them in language, religion, and mode of life. Like the mountaineers they were a race of peasants and shepherds. But, being neighbors of the Etruscans and the Cumæan Greeks, they had become a little more civilized. They used the Greek alphabet²; they had, like the Greeks,



CINERARY URNS IN TERRA COTTA,
showing forms of primitive Latin huts.

olive- and fig-trees. They understood the art of working in metals, and they learned to build after the Etruscan model.

They lived in small fortified towns on the hill-tops. Each town had its own little territory. The inhabitants of the town formed a people with an independent government which they called *res publica* (property of the people) or *civitas* (city). These small peoples often made war on one another.

[¹ The Italian physicians have had the honor of demonstrating within the last two years that the mosquitoes of such a district are the real carriers of malarial germs.]

² Roman letters are simply ancient Greek letters, slightly changed.

On the Alban Mount there was a sanctuary consecrated to the Latin god Jupiter (*Latiaris*), common to all the Latins. Every year the Latin cities (said to be thirty in all) sent delegates who met in a sacred wood on the mountain and sacrificed a bull to the Latin Jupiter.

Italy was thus inhabited by very different peoples, without a common name. Even those whom to-day we recognize as one race, the Umbrians, Sabines, Sabellians, and Latins, were ignorant of their common origin. They could not converse together readily, for their languages, although alike at the beginning, had become different with time.

The most civilized of all, the Greeks in the south and the Etruscans in the north, were foreigners. The Latins, living near the coast, absorbed the civilization of these strangers and, going far ahead of the mountain peoples, ended by becoming masters of all Italy.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy	Introduction.
Mommsen	Bk. 1, cc. i-iii, viii-x.
Botsford	c. i.
How and Leigh....	cc. i, ii.
Morey.....	Introduction.
Myers.....	c. i.
Shuckburgh.....	cc. ii, iii.
Freeman	<i>Historical Geography of Europe</i> , pp. 7-9, 43-49.
Tozer	<i>Classical Geography</i> , cc. ix, x.
Ilhne	<i>Early Rome</i> , c. i, for Causes of the Great- ness of Rome.
Shuckburgh.....	c. i, for Divisions of Roman History.
Dennis.....	<i>The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria</i> .
Fergusson.....	<i>History of Architecture</i> , Bk. IV, c. i, for Etruscan Architecture.

CHAPTER II.

THE KINGS OF ROME

Foundation of Rome.—On the northern frontier of Latium, close to Etruria, is the site of Rome, a plain intersected by hills. The country about, drained by the Tiber, which overflows every year, was marshy and unhealthy. Even to-day it is almost impossible to avoid fever there. The hills are low, the highest being only 168 feet in height; some, however, are very steep and rise from the plain like natural fortresses.

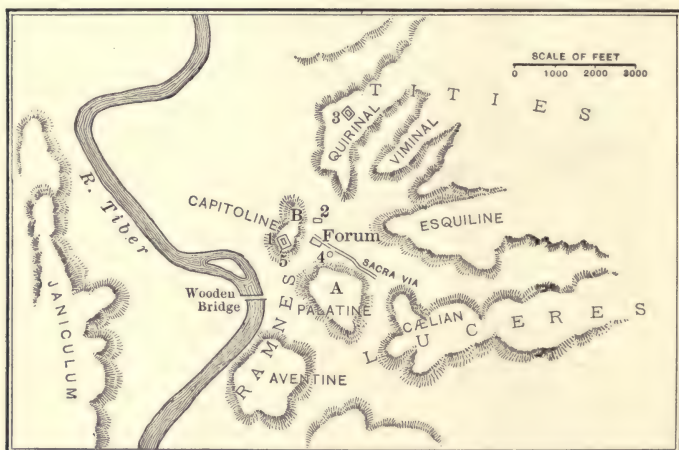
On the Palatine, near the Tiber and the highest of all these hills, was built the first city of Rome. It was but a small town (hardly 6000 feet around), built almost in the form of a square; it was indeed called Square Rome (*Roma Quadrata*). The city was strong, surrounded by a ditch which ran all around the hill, and by a stone wall inside the ditch. Some remains of this wall have been found. It had four gates, one on each side.

The Romans said that Rome had been founded on April 21, 753; that is, on that day the wall had been marked out with a religious ceremony. They described the ceremony thus:

The founder, clothed in a white robe, had yoked a bull and a heifer of spotless white to a plough with a bronze share. Then, all around the spot where he wished to build his city he drove the plough, turning a furrow to mark the site of the wall.

Where he wished the gates to stand he lifted the plough and carried it (hence the Latin *porta*, gate, from *portare*, to carry) so that it should not touch the earth; for the furrow traced by his plough was sacred and religion forbade its being crossed. The furrow therefore had to be interrupted where space was left to go in and out.

On April 21 of each year the Romans celebrated the anniversary of the foundation. A procession marched around



THE CITY OF THE EARLY KINGS—THE THREE TRIBES.

A, Roma Quadrata; B, Arx, or Citadel.

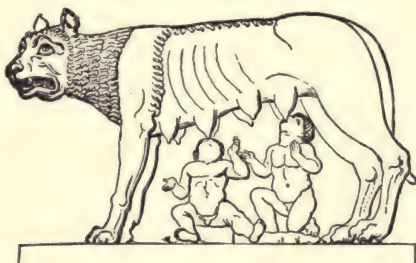
Temples, altars, etc.: 1, Jupiter Capitolinus; 2, Janus; 3, Quirinus; 4, Vesta; 5, Tarpeian Rock.

the old wall long after it had disappeared and a priest drove a nail in a temple.

Legend of Romulus.—The Romans had no certain knowledge of the history of their city during the centuries immediately after its foundation. They treasured, however, many legends of these ancient times which they accepted as true. These legends furnished them an explanation of the monuments they saw and the customs they practised.

They called the founder of Rome Romulus and told this legend of him:

On one of the mountains of Latium stood a city called Alba, whose kings were said to be descended from the Trojan hero Æneas, who had fled to Italy after the burning of Troy. Amulius, twelfth king of Alba, had dispossessed his brother Numitor and was reigning in his place. Numitor had a daughter, Rhea Sylvia, whom her uncle forced to become a priestess of the goddess Vesta. The god Mars fell in love with her and she bore him two sons, Romulus and Remus. The king, to rid himself of them, had them put in a cradle and thrown into the overflowing Tiber. The current bore the cradle into the flooded valley and to the foot of the Palatine, where it stopped



BRONZE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL.

near a fig-tree. There a wolf came and suckled the two children,¹ while birds hovered over the cradle to keep insects away. A shepherd found them and took them home to his wife, who brought them up.

Romulus and Remus grew to be brave men and made war on wild beasts and robbers. One day they were fighting against Numitor's shepherds who threatened to pasture their herds on the Aventine hill. Remus was seized and taken before Numitor, to whom he related his story. Numitor remembered his grandsons, whom he had long thought dead, and sent for Romulus. The two brothers killed Amulius and restored Alba to their grandfather, Numitor.

The king sent them with a body of men to found a city in the neighborhood where they had been brought up. Each of the two watched the heavens for a favorable sign from the gods, Romulus from Mount Palatine, Remus from Mount Aventine. Remus saw six vultures, Romulus twelve. Their companions

¹ A bronze group in the Capitol represented two children suckled by a wolf.

decided in favor of Romulus, and it was he that drove the sacred plough around the Palatine hill. Remus defied him and leaped the furrow. Romulus killed him and cried: "Thus perish all who dare cross this wall!"

On a neighboring hill stood a forest of sacred oaks. In order to increase his people, Romulus made of this forest a refuge, within whose bounds every fugitive was safe. Exiles, runaway slaves, and criminals came here from all countries. Romulus governed both his Alban companions on the Palatine hill and the exiles in his shelter.

These first Romans had no wives. Romulus therefore asked them of the people round about. They mocked him, saying: "Open an asylum for women also." Romulus invited them to the festival of the god Consus. The Sabines came with their families. In the midst of the festivities, Romulus gave a signal, whereupon each Roman seized a young girl, carried her off and married her. Thus the Romans procured wives through the "Rape of the Sabines."¹

The Sabines swore vengeance and came in arms to attack Rome. On the steep hill of the Capitol opposite the Palatine Romulus had built a fort and stationed a garrison. A young girl named Tarpeia offered to betray the fortress to the Sabines in return for what they bore on their left arms, meaning of course their golden bracelets. They promised, and she let them in. Once in possession of the Capitol they threw their shields upon her and crushed her. They kept their promise, for they carried the shield on the left arm, and Tarpeia was punished for her treachery.

The Sabines and the Romans met in the valley between the two hills. The Romans were giving up the battle and turning to flee, when Romulus prayed Jupiter to check the rout and promised to build him a temple.² Immediately the Romans stood their ground. At the same moment the young Sabine women, now the wives of the Romans who had stolen them, ran to throw themselves between their husbands and their fathers, weeping and praying. The warriors heard their supplication and ceased to fight.³ The two kings soon concluded a treaty and the two peoples were henceforth one. Romulus,

[¹This myth probably rose as an attempted explanation of the primitive custom of marriage by seizure of the bride.]

²There was at Rome a temple consecrated to Jupiter *Stator* (who checks).

³In commemoration of the service rendered by the Sabine women in separating the combatants, the women of Rome went every year on March 11 to place wreaths of flowers in the temple of the goddess Juno and spent the rest of the day in their houses in festal attire.

settled on the Palatine, reigned in common with Tatius, king of the Sabines, on the Capitol.

Romulus outlived Tatius and vanquished many of the neighboring peoples. One day the Romans had all assembled for a review in the Field of Mars, when a violent thunder-storm burst upon them. The terrified people scattered in all directions. When the storm was over, Romulus was nowhere to be seen. Some days later, a senator swore that he had seen the king drawn up to heaven in a chariot in the midst of the thunder and lightning. The Romans inferred from this that Romulus had gone to join the gods, and they worshipped him under the name of Quirinus.

Legend of Numa.—Numa, the second king, is credited with the organization of the Roman religion.

After the death of Romulus, the two united peoples, Romans and Sabines, were for a year without a king; they finally chose a Sabine, Numa Pompilius. He was wise and just, a lover of peace, a devoted worshipper of the gods, and beloved by them. At night he went to the sacred wood of the Camenæ on the Cœlian Hill to a place where an inexhaustible stream flowed down through a rocky cavern. There Numa met a goddess, the nymph Egeria, who gave him her counsel.

Thanks to this divine counsel, he regulated the ceremonies in the way most pleasing to the gods. He created pontiffs, omens, and vestals; he forbade the sacrifice of blood. He built the temple of Saturn and the temple of Janus, the latter to stand open as long as Rome should be at war. Numa, being a peaceful ruler, kept it closed. After him, however, it had to be left open for several centuries.

Legend of Tullus and the Horatii.—The third king, Tullus, was represented as a warrior and friend of the poor. The combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii is credited to his reign.

Tullus Hostilius was said to be the grandson of a Latin. He established himself on the Cœlian Hill, among the poor, and gave land to citizens who had none. His reign was devoted to war.

Alba Longa, built on a mountain and the most powerful city in the country, had for a long time been at war with Rome. At length the two peoples determined to end the war by a duel. Three champions on each side met in the presence of the two armies; the people whose champions should conquer was to be master of the other. Rome chose three young

brothers, the Horatii; Alba, the three young Curiatii. They fought in a plain between the two armies.

In the first engagement two of the Horatii were killed, while all three Curiatii were wounded. The Albans thought they were already victorious and shouted for joy. The third Horatius, still unwounded, made as if to flee. The wounded Curiatii pursued him and in the pursuit were separated. Horatius, seeing them widely separated, turned, attacked them one by one, killed all three,¹ and seized their armor. In his way back to Rome, laden with his trophies, Horatius met his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the dead Curiatii. Recognizing her lover's arms, she began to weep and call for him. Horatius was enraged and pierced her with his spear, crying, "Thus perish every Roman who weeps at the death of an enemy!" He was seized and condemned to death. His father begged the people not to take his last remaining child, and they pardoned him. To expiate his crime, his father erected a yoke² in the middle of the road and made him pass under it with veiled head.

The Albans were now obliged to follow the Romans in all their wars. In one battle Mettius Fuffetius, the Alban chief, instead of fighting, held his men aside, awaiting the outcome before joining the stronger side. The Romans won the day, and after the battle Tullus had Mettius bound by his hands and feet to two chariots, which were then driven in opposite directions, tearing the traitor's body in two. A troop of horsemen then hastened to Alba, destroyed the city, and led its people to Rome, where they were established on the Cœlian Hill.

One day Tullus was trying to make thunder descend on the altar, when by some mistake the thunderbolt came down on him, burned him to death, and set fire to his palace.

Legend of Ancus Martius.—This is the legend of the fourth king of Rome.

Ancus Martius, grandson of Numa, was chosen by the Romans. He made war on the Latins, took a number of their cities and brought their inhabitants to live in Rome on the Aventine Hill. He extended the territory of Rome to the sea, and established the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He built a wooden bridge over the Tiber and, on the other side of the river, the fortress of Mount Janiculum.

¹ There were near Rome three tombs close together called the Tombs of the Curiatii, and near by a single tomb in which it is said the two Horatii were buried together.

² There was in Rome a yoke known as the *Sister's Beam*.

Legend of Tarquinius the Elder.—Legend represents the following kings as foreigners from Etruria and calls the head of this Etruscan family Tarquinius the Elder.

Tarquin was the son of a Greek noble belonging to Corinth, who, driven from his country by a revolution, had settled at Tarquinii in Etruria. His wife, Tanaquil, who had the power of reading the future, advised him to go to Rome with his property and his household.

As they came to Janiculum, an eagle slowly descended upon Tarquin, plucked off his cap, hovered for a moment above the chariot with wild cries, then replaced the cap. Tanaquil embraced her husband and explained to him the meaning of the omen—that Tarquin should be king.

Ancus, king of Rome, took Tarquin for his friend, and on his death confided his son to his care. Tarquin had won the love of the people, and they elected him king. He beautified Rome, built a circus for festivals, and an underground drain for the lower part of the city. He adopted the royal emblems of the Etruscans, the purple robe, the crown, the sceptre surmounted by the eagle, and the ivory throne.

Legend of Servius Tullius.—Servius Tullius, the sixth king, was an organizer.

Son of a slave or of a prince killed in war (here the legend varies), he was brought up in the palace. Tanaquil gave him her daughter in marriage, then had him declared king.

It was he that divided the people into tribes, organized the army into centuries, and built a new wall, the wall of Servius.

He married his two daughters to the two sons of Tarquin. One of these, Tullia, a wicked and ambitious woman, poisoned her husband and married her brother-in-law, Lucius. He also was ambitious, and conspired against his father-in-law. One day he came to the senate chamber in the royal robes, seized Servius and threw him down the stone stairway. Tullia came to greet the new king, driving her chariot over the bleeding body of her father.¹

The Roman People.—It is certain that the Roman people was for a long time very small and constantly at war with the other small peoples in the neighborhood.

The Roman territory was small, composed in part of barren hills. Each family had ordinarily a small field of

¹There was a street in Rome called the *Via Scelerata*, so called, it is said, on account of Tullia's crime.

two acres, a sort of garden, where they raised grain and various vegetables, peas, beans, and cabbages. The rich were those who had a herd of sheep or oxen.

Money was not yet in use. In making a purchase, a certain number of oxen or sheep were given, or else a bit of bronze weighed in the balance. A fine consisted in handing over to the state so many sheep or oxen. The word *pecunia*, meaning fortune, comes from *pecus*, meaning cattle.

Patricians and Clients.—The Romans were farmers and shepherds. These peasants were not equal. Certain families possessed almost all the lands and herds. These families were not, like ours, composed simply of father, mother, and children. The *gens*, as this sort of family was called, included all the men descended from a common ancestor, so that a single *gens* often comprised many families (the *gens* Fabia, for instance, is said to have included more than three hundred warriors). Each *gens* obeyed a common chief, the *pater* (father) and had a common sanctuary where the members came at certain times to worship the souls of their dead ancestors and celebrate religious ceremonies. There were said to be three hundred of these *gentes*. Those belonging to them were called *patricians* (sons of the *pater*). They alone could govern, command, or seek justice of the tribunal. All the rest of the people respected them as superiors.

Side by side with the patricians lived the free men, poorer and of less importance; these were called *clients*. Each had a patrician for *patron*; the client owed his patron obedience, labor on his estate, and service in time of war. The patrician, in return, protected the client, gave him a living, and represented him before the tribunal. where the client could not appear himself.

The Plebeians.—The patricians and their clients formed the *populus*, that is to say, the body of citizens. They alone might appear in the assembly of the people and at religious ceremonies.

But there was a constantly increasing class of men who were obedient to the Roman government and fought in the Roman army, without having the right to take part in either assemblies or ceremonies. These were known as the *plebs* (or common herd), as distinguished from the *people*. "May this be favorable to the *people* and the *plebs* of Rome," ran an ancient prayer.¹

The King and the Senate.—The king controlled the government. He levied taxes, exercised justice, convoked the assembly, ordered the people to war, and made disposition of the spoils of war.

Commonly, before deciding a question, he called together the chiefs of every *gens* in council and asked their advice. This council was called the *Patres* (Fathers) or the *Senate* (the Elders).²

The Comitia Curiata.—When the question was of general interest, the king assembled the whole people, each man with his own *gens*. A number of *gentes* together formed a *curia* (of which there were thirty in all). Each curia had its chapel and its own *curio* or priest; first came a sacrifice, followed by deliberation and a vote. The vote of the majority of the curiæ was the vote of the people. After this manner were the laws made.³

[¹ The account here given of the probable origin of clients and plebeians, and of the rights and duties of these two classes in such matters as taking part in the popular assembly and bearing arms, may well be supplemented by the views of other writers. The whole subject is obscure by reason of the scanty material on which conclusions must be based. Hence exact statements as to the different classes are mainly conjecture. Compare the treatment of the subject in some of the works named at the end of the chapter.]

[² This senate, according to later tradition, consisted at first of one hundred, later of two hundred (as a second tribe was added. Cf. note 3), and finally of three hundred members. But Plutarch (*Poplicola*) reckons only a hundred and thirty-six senators at the close of the regal period.]

[³ The thirty curiæ were grouped in three tribes, a second and third being added to the original group as new peoples were added to the

Growth of Rome.—All through this period, Rome was growing fast. It had begun as a little city on the Palatine. There were the most ancient memorials of Rome; the Palatium (royal palace), Romulus' little dwelling, a little grotto shaded by a fig-tree where the wolf is said to have suckled Romulus, a marvellous dogberry-tree said to have sprung from a javelin thrown by Romulus, and the *mundus*, a little hole in which, on the day the city was founded, were thrown objects of good omen to bring prosperity to the new city.

The city began to spread. Houses were built on the other hills and in the valleys, while at different times these new settlements were enclosed within an ever-increasing wall.

The last and greatest wall, known as the wall of Servius Tullius, was a rampart of earth reinforced on both sides by a wall of cut stone, without mortar; some of which has been found buried under the ruins. This wall, thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high, surrounded all the space covered by the seven hills and on both sides stretched to the Tiber, which served as defence on the west.

Within this new wall, opposite the Palatine, rises the Capitoline hill, over 140 feet in height, with a sharp declivity at the rear, known as the Tarpeian rock, from which condemned prisoners were sometimes thrown. At the summit stood the citadel, where the treasure and the archives were kept, and beside it the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the protecting deity of Rome.

Outside the wall, in the bend of the Tiber, lies a little plain called the Campus Martius (Field of Mars), where fighting was forbidden. The only bridge over the Tiber was of wood, and made so that it could be lifted in case an enemy should attack the city.

primitive Romans. The three tribes are known as Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. From this threefold division may have come the term tribe (*tribus*). The tribal arrangements of Servius and of later times were on a different basis.]

The low valley at the foot of these hills, where the Forum (market-place) stood, was swampy. An underground drain



CLOACA MAXIMA.

2600 feet in length was constructed, covered by an arch built of great blocks of cut stone without cement. This drain,

the *Cloaca Maxima*, empties into the Tiber. It is still in existence, though partly in ruins. In old times it was so large that a boat could enter it.

SOURCES.

Livy	Bk. I, §§ 1-48.
Cicero.....	<i>Republic</i> , Bk. II, §§ 1-23.
Plutarch.....	<i>Romulus, Numa</i> .
Eutropius	Bk. I, §§ 1-7.
Florus.....	Bk. I, cc. i-vi.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy.....	cc. i, ii.
Ilhne.....	Bk. I, cc. ii-viii, xiii; <i>Early Rome</i> , cc. iii, v, vii-ix.
Mommsen.	Bk. I, cc. iv-vii.
Abbott.....	<i>Roman Political Institutions</i> , cc. i, ii.
Botsford.....	c. ii.
Greenidge.....	<i>Roman Public Life</i> , c. i.
How and Leigh....	cc. iii, iv.
Morey.....	cc. ii-v.
Myers.....	cc. ii, iv.
Pelham.....	Bk. I, cc. i, iii.
Shuckburgh	cc. iv, v.

CHAPTER III.

ABOLITION OF ROYALTY.

Legend of the Expulsion of the Tarquins.—At the end of the sixth century B.C. there were no more kings in Rome. The change is explained thus:

Lucius Tarquinius, called *Superbus* (the proud), after killing Servius, had forced the senate to accept him as king. He governed as a despot, regardless of law, killing those that displeased him and confiscating their possessions. A guard of mercenaries supported him in oppressing his subjects. He was rich and powerful, conquered the cities of Latium and built great structures in Rome.

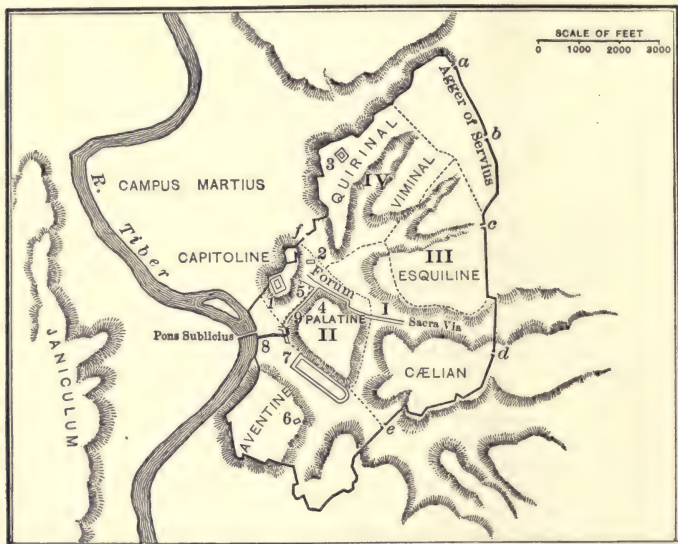
While Tarquin was besieging the city of Ardea, Sextus, one of his sons, left the camp and, coming by night to the house of his cousin, Tarquinius Collatinus, dishonored Lucretia, his wife. The next day Lucretia sent for her husband and Lucretius, her father, told them her story, made them swear vengeance on the guilty man, and then plunged a knife into her heart.

Collatinus had brought with him his friend Brutus, nephew of the king. Brutus swore to punish the race of the Tarquins and put down the kings. Collatinus and Lucretius came to Rome with Lucretia's bleeding body and called the senate together. The senate convoked the assembly, Tarquin was declared dethroned and his family exiled. Brutus went to the camp before Ardea, roused the soldiers, and forced Tarquin to flee into Etruria. Brutus and Collatinus were given charge of the government. This revolution took place in 510 B.C.

Some time later, a number of Etruscan envoys came to Rome under pretext of demanding restitution of Tarquin's possessions. They conspired with some of the young men of the leading families to restore the banished king; among the conspirators were the two sons of Brutus. A slave overheard their discussion and denounced them. They were condemned and executed, Brutus himself passing judgment on them. Tarquin's lands, on the shore of the Tiber, were consecrated to the god

Mars; the cultivation of this tract was forbidden and it became the Campus Martius.

Tarquin came back with an Etruscan army, and they fought the Romans for a whole day. Brutus and the son of Tarquin



THE CITY OF THE LATER KINGS—WALLS OF SERVIUS.

The four Servian regions: I, Suburana; II, Palatina; III, Esquilina; IV, Collina.

The chief gates of Rome: a, Collina; b, Viminalis; c, Esquilina; d, Querquetulana; e, Capena; f, Ratumena.

The chief buildings, etc.: 1, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; 2, Janus; 3, Quirinus; 4, Vesta; 5, Saturn; 6, Diana; 7, Circus Maximus; 8, Cloaca Maxima; 9, Vicus Tuscus.

were both mortally wounded. Night ended the battle, and neither side had won. At midnight a voice came from the forest crying, "Rome has lost one man less than the Etruscans." The Etruscans were terrified and fled. A statue of Brutus, sword in hand, was erected on the Capitol.

The Consulate.—At first no change was made in the government at Rome, except that, in place of a king chosen for life, there were now two magistrates elected for a year only. These were called prætors, later consuls.

The Roman people elected them for a year and gave its power into their hands. Each governed in turn, with absolute power (called in Latin *imperium*). He commanded the



army; he held the tribunal and pronounced judgment; he convoked and presided over all assemblies. He had the right to arrest and to imprison, the right to fine and even condemn to death.

As the sign of his power the consul had the former royal

insignia, the ivory or curule chair,¹ the robe of purple or bordered with purple (*prætecta*). He was accompanied by twelve lictors, each of whom carried on the left shoulder a bunch of rods (*fascēs*) with an axe in the middle, as a sign



CURULE CHAIR AND FASCES.

that the consul had the right to have any citizen beaten with the rods or executed with the axe.

The Romans said that the consul had the same power as the king, but this power was brief and divided. The consul governed but one year, and he had a colleague (*consul* probably means *colleague*) whose power was equal to his own and who could oppose his actions.

The Dictatorship.—In times of special moment, as in the event of invasion or of tumult among the people, it was customary to replace the two consuls by a single chief who should assume command as the king did formerly. One of the consuls appointed him by night in silence. He was

¹ A folding seat without arms or back.

called "master of the people" or "dictator." He retained all twenty-four lictors and had no colleague to limit his power. He himself chose his lieutenant, the "master of the horse," having six lictors.¹

The danger past, the dictator abdicated. His term of power could in no case exceed six months.

Assembly of the People.—The consuls had the supreme command, but the Roman people alone had the right to make laws, to decide questions of peace and war, and to elect the consuls. The people must therefore hold meetings. Their assemblies were called *comitia*. These were of different kinds; the *Comitia Curiata*, the most ancient, early lost its political powers, and retained only certain religious and perfunctory duties. It continued to bestow the *imperium* on the consuls chosen by the *comitia centuriata*, and to ratify adoption into a patrician family. But these formal duties were commonly carried out by a small commission of the whole body.

The chief assembly, the *comitia centuriata*, consisted of the citizens under arms. This assembly voted the laws and treaties and elected the magistrates. It was convoked by a magistrate, ordinarily one of the consuls, who summoned all the citizens to appear in arms on a set day: this was called "mustering the army."

On the night before the muster, at midnight, the consul went to the place where the assembly was to be held. There he took the *auspices*, that is to say, asked the gods whether the assembly had their favor. For this purpose one of the augurs traced a square, the *templum*; the consul prayed, then sat down and silently watched the signs that the gods should send; these were given through birds, or sacred chickens. If the signs appeared unfavorable, the consul could postpone

[¹ The lictors of the consuls were obliged to remove the axes from their fasces when in the city, in token that the consular power of life and death existed only outside the city. But the lictors of the dictator carried the axes everywhere.]

the assembly to another day. If, however, the consul found the signs favorable, he gave the final order for the assembly by pronouncing, without leaving the templum, the formula: "Quirites, I order you to assemble." Thereupon, while it was still dark, trumpets were blown from the wall and in the citadel to notify the citizens.

At break of day the whole army gathered outside the town on the Campus Martius, for their religion forbade them to bear arms within the sacred wall. Under the orders of the consul the public crier declared the assembly in session.

The first proceeding was a religious ceremony: a sacrifice was offered, and prayer was made to the gods that they "would turn to the profit of the Roman people that which should be resolved." And then the magistrate explained the object of the meeting. He could at will allow anybody to speak, but nobody could speak without his permission. If the meeting was for an election, he gave the names of those that he would allow to be elected, and no others could be chosen. It sometimes happened that a consul proposed only as many names as there were places to be filled,—in which case the assembly could vote on these names alone.

After having stated the object of the meeting, the consul said: "I command you to assemble in comitia by centuries." The citizens proceeded to arrange themselves, each in his century, behind their standards. Then in each century a polling officer (*rogator*) took the votes. Each citizen voted orally. In this way the vote of the century was ascertained, and the votes of the majority of the centuries constituted the vote of the assembly. For, in the Roman assemblies, the vote was the vote of groups and not of individuals.

Since the organization attributed to Servius Tullius, the Roman army was divided into eighteen *centuries* of horsemen and five *classes* of foot-soldiers.

The citizens were distributed among these classes according to their wealth (the richest in the first class) and each class was divided into centuries, as follows:

Class I. Eighty centuries.

Class II. Twenty centuries.

Class III. Twenty centuries.

Class IV. Twenty centuries.

Class V. Thirty centuries.

Besides these there were two centuries of laborers, two of musicians, and one century to which were assigned all who were too poor to belong to the classes. In all there were one hundred and ninety-three centuries.

The horsemen were the first to vote and their votes were proclaimed; then the centuries of class I, and so on in order. As soon as a majority was obtained, the decision of the assembly was announced, so that the citizens of the later classes, the poorer men, were commonly not called to vote. Under this arrangement if the ninety-eight centuries of the knights and the first class were agreed, the matter was already settled, for they were a majority.

When the voting was finished, the magistrate proclaimed the result and ordered the assembly to disperse. The business had to be finished before sunset. If, while the assembly was sitting, an unfavorable omen were observed, if, for example, it thundered, or some one had an epileptic fit, the magistrate adjourned the assembly to another day, and the whole business had to be done over again.

The Senate.—The senate retained the functions it had in the time of the kings. It had been the council of the king, it became the council of the consuls. The consul called it together when he wished its advice. The senate had no independent power; but, as it was composed of all the former magistrates, the heads of noble families, the consuls usually consulted it on all serious matters and followed its advice. In this way the senate came to direct the government.¹

***Credibility of the Early History.**—In the foregoing

¹ In Chapter XII will be found a description of a meeting of the senate in the second century.

story of primitive Rome much has been set down as mere legend. Part of it may be true; part must be romance. Other portions of this early history are taken as substantial fact. The reasons which govern this acceptance or rejection may be briefly summarized.

The history of all primitive peoples begins in the same way, with the ballad or epic, the myth and the legend of uncritical times. Even so sober and prosaic a history as that of America has already developed a necessity for the sifting out from it of the legendary. From history thus handed down criticism rejects at once the impossible and manifestly absurd. It also looks askance at the improbable and feels room for doubt when it finds a tale repeated under differing guises or told with variations by different peoples. But institutions, political and religious, especially among a people tenacious of forms as the Romans were, endure persistently. Material monuments also may be trusted. And so, piece by piece, comparing the known with the unknown, and depending upon what is certain, and accepting what seems reasonable and probable, a satisfactory account is made up. But within such limits there is wide room for diversity of opinion. Hence arise many of the differing views held of the institutions of early Rome.

The written sources of Roman history begin only at a time centuries later than the monarchy, and when the republic had long been venerable. We depend mainly upon Livy (B.C. 59–A.D. 17) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote in Rome between 29 B.C. and 19 A.D. These and minor authorities drew on earlier writers, the names of several of whom are known. Marcus Porcius Cato (B.C. 231–149) had carefully compiled a history. Polybius wrote in Greek between B.C. 167 and 151 a Universal History. Quintus Fabius Pictor, a senator during the Second Punic War, wrote, probably in Greek, the story of his city. Timæus, a Sicilian Greek, composed about 300 B.C. an account of early Rome.

Written history can thus be traced back only to somewhere near 300 B.C.—a time further from the foundation of the city than our own age from that of Columbus, and as distant from the first days of the republic as the present time from that of Queen Anne. Small wonder that writers of so late a date after the events they describe should not be given full credence.

The sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C. probably destroyed many ancient records, public and private, and also many monuments of the elder time. The Capitol, however, was saved and in it may have been stored many of the archives of the city. Such were the *Annales Maximi*, or annual records of the Pontifex Maximus, and the Commentaries of the college of pontiffs on civil and religious formalities. Magistrates recorded their deeds in so-called *libri lintei*. There were also private memorials, such as the *laudationes* or funeral eulogies of the dead, and inscriptions on tombs, which must have been rich in historic material.

Thus it is evident that the history of the monarchy and the early republic must be very cautiously received in its details, while its main outlines may be regarded as reasonably certain.

SOURCES.

Livy	Bk. I, §§ 49-60.
Eutropius	Bk. I, §§ 8-10.
Cicero	<i>Republic</i> , Bk. II, §§ 24-32.
Florus	Bk. I, cc. vii-ix.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy	c. vi.
Ihne	Bk. I, c. viii; Bk. II, c. i; <i>Early Rome</i> , cc. x-xii.
Mommsen	Bk. II, c. i.
Botsford	c. ii.
How and Leigh ...	c. v.
Morey	c. vi.
Myers	c. v.
Pelham	Bk. II, c. i.
Abbott	c. iii.
Taylor	<i>Constitutional and Political History of Rome</i> , c. i.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN RELIGION.

Roman Gods.—The Romans, like all the ancient peoples, believed that there were in the world invisible beings whose power was much greater than man's; these they called gods. They believed that each god dwelt in a certain locality and had power over a certain class of phenomena.

These were the principal Roman gods:

Jupiter, god of light and of storms, the god that hurled thunder; he was considered the most powerful of all. The largest temple in Rome, built on the Capitol, was consecrated to Jupiter Maximus, who was the special protector of the Roman people. Oaths were taken in his name.

Juno, goddess of light, watched over the Roman women. She was the goddess of marriage and was herself later represented as the wife of Jupiter.

Mars, god of war, father of the Roman people; the wolf was his sacred animal. The Sabines called him *Quirinus*. (a Quirinus was also worshipped at Rome).

Vesta, goddess of the hearth.

Janus, who was represented with two faces.

Saturn, god of the Latins.

Minerva, goddess of wisdom.

Vulcan, god of the forge, protector of smiths.

Neptune, god of the sea.

Venus, goddess of gardens.

Ceres, goddess of wheat-fields.

Diana, goddess of forests and of the chase.

Liber, god of the vineyard.

Mercury, god of travellers and merchants.

Orcus, god of the lower world, the abode of departed souls.

The Earth, the Sun, and the Moon were also gods.

There were spirits hidden in the trees, springs, and rocks: sylvan gods and Fauns in the woods; Nymphs and Camenæ (Muses) about the springs. There were protecting divinities for cattle, one for oxen called Bubona, one for horses called Equina, and one for sheep called Pales.

Each house had its protecting spirit, the Lar, and each man his accompanying genius. There was even a special divinity for each part of the house, Forculus for the door, Limentinus for the threshold, Cardea for the hinges; one for each act in life: thus when a child was weaned, Educa and Potina taught it to drink, Cuba to put itself to bed, Statanus to stand upright, Abeona and Adeona to walk, Fabulinus to speak; when it went to school, Iterduca led it, Domiduca brought it home.

Even abstract qualities were personified as divinities: Peace, Victory, Faith, Hope, Harmony, Piety. The most venerated was Fortuna, goddess of success; temples were erected to the welfare (Fortune) of the state, the welfare of woman, the welfare of the army.

The Romans did not attempt to give form to their gods; for a long time they did not even have idols. They worshipped Mars in the form of a sword, Quirinus in the form of a lance, Jupiter in the form of a stone. Perhaps they did not imagine them as having human form; they did not imagine them marrying or even meeting among themselves, as the Greeks did; they knew no stories to tell of them. They called them *numen* (manifestation), and it was enough for them that these gods sometimes made themselves manifest as powerful beings, that they were capable of great evil or of great good, and that, therefore, it was wise to win their favor.

Religion.—The religion of the Romans rested on this idea. It was an exchange of services. Man brought gifts to the god, and expected the god to render him a service in return.

Articles of food were the usual form of offering; milk and wine were thrown on the ground, fruit and cakes placed on the altar. The most acceptable offering was believed to be in the shape of animals, especially sheep, swine, and oxen. The animal was killed with a form of ceremony; and this was called sacrifice.

The Romans believed that the gods were much attached to ancient forms and that a change in them would incur their wrath. They were therefore most careful to observe the rites exactly.

The animal to be sacrificed must be faultless, a white ox for Jupiter, a black sheep for a divinity of the lower world. It was brought before the altar, which was a mound of earth in the open air. Its head was bound with cloths, a bowl of salt and flour sprinkled over it, and it was struck with an axe or a knife according to circumstance. The bones and fat were then placed on the altar and burned.

The sacrifice was accompanied by a prayer, asking aid of the god. The votary stood, clad in spotless garments, his head covered by a veil, and opened his prayer by calling upon the god.

The Romans believed that the gods had a secret name unknown to man. "No one," it was said, "knows the true names of the gods." In calling upon a god, the customary name had to be used, but with some such precaution as this: "O Jupiter, most great, most good, or if thou dost prefer another name." Then followed what was desired of the god, expressed in very clear terms. Great care was taken always to address the god that was believed capable of rendering the desired service; Ceres, for example, for a good harvest, Neptune for a safe passage on the sea. Varro said: "It is as useful to know what god can aid us in various

circumstances as to know where our carpenter or baker lives."

Men offered sacrifices and prayers for the success of their private affairs. The Roman government offered them for the success of public enterprises. Religious ceremonies were at least of equal importance with assemblies and tribunals. No man dared undertake anything of any consequence without a ceremony to ask a successful issue of the gods.



A SACRIFICE.

Every year, at certain fixed seasons, festivals were celebrated, designed to please some god and win his favor. In the spring came the feast of Pales, god of herds. On this day the people purified their houses, built a fire of straw and leaped over it thrice, sacrificed sheep to Pales and ate them.

Priests.—There were at Rome persons charged with the performance of certain ceremonies in the name of the state; these were the priests or *sacerdotes*. They were arranged in groups, each with its particular function.

The fifteen flamens (lighters) lighted the fire on the altar and made the sacrifice. The chief lighters were the flamen

of Jupiter, the flamen of Quirinus, and the flamen of Mars who each year sacrificed a horse to Mars.

The twelve Salii¹ of the Palatine watched over a shield consecrated to Mars. This shield, it was said, had fallen from heaven one day, and was venerated like a god. Eleven shields had been made exactly like it so that it could not be stolen. Every year the Salii conducted a ceremony in its honor; they brought out the twelve shields, each taking one, and executed a war-dance, singing a hymn in honor of Mamurius.

The Arval Brothers met once a year in a sacred wood, two miles from Rome, and danced and sang a hymn to the goddess Dea Dia, praying her to send a good harvest.

The Lupercales celebrated the Lupercalia each year in honor of Faunus; half naked, covered only with goat-skins held by thongs, they ran around the ancient wall of the Palatine, striking the women that they met.

The Fetiales were employed only in dealings with foreign peoples. To declare war, they went to the enemy's frontier and threw a javelin over the border. To sign a treaty, their leader came with the sacred herb from the Capitol, a sceptre, and the sacred stone from the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; on this stone (which was regarded as a god) he swore in the name of the people to observe the treaty. He then killed a hog.²

The Vestal Virgins, young daughters of the great Roman families, guarded the fire on the sacred hearth of Vesta. They lived in the sanctuary and watched the fire so that it should never go out. The Vestal who let the fire go out was whipped. The Vestals had the place of honor in the theatre; in the streets every one, even the consul, had to give place to them.

¹ There were twelve Salii *Agonales* who performed a similar ceremony in honor of Quirinus.

² *Foedus icere* (to kill the hog) has thus come to mean to conclude a treaty.

The most important college was that of the Pontiffs, whose duty was to control religious affairs. They regulated the calendar, that is to say, they indicated at the beginning of each year when the various festivals should be held, when the courts and the assemblies should sit, the fast-days, and the unhallowed days, when any sort of public act was forbidden by religion.

They arranged ceremonies and directed the celebration of festivals in the name of the Roman people. When the magistrate or the senate had promised a temple to a god or a festival for the good of the people, the pontiffs received the promise in the name of the god. When an accident gave rise to the idea that some god was vexed with the Roman people the pontiffs decided what ceremonies should be celebrated, what victims should be sacrificed, that the god might be appeased.

The Pontifex Maximus, the chief of the pontiffs, was one of the first men in Rome, "judge and arbiter of affairs divine and human." He even watched over individuals that they should not neglect the celebration of ceremonies, for the state was believed to be interested in the proper observance of the claims of the gods.

Hearth Gods and the Lares.—In each house there was a sacred hearth at which the family worshipped. Before beginning a meal a prayer must be offered and a little wine (libation) poured on it. A protecting divinity, the *lar familiaris*, was believed to dwell near the hearth, and food was brought to him. Near the hearth stood the penates, the little household gods.

Rome also had her sacred hearth in the sanctuary of Vesta, and in this same sanctuary her idol, the Palladium.

Departed Souls.—The Romans believed the souls of the dead to be powerful spirits. They called them *manes* (the good gods), and believed that these souls needed attention from the living.

When a man died, his body was laid in a sanctuary (the

tomb) according to consecrated form; food and drink were then brought to him. Wine or milk was thrown on the ground, cakes left in the vases, animals were killed and their flesh roasted. This ceremony was repeated every year by descendants of the dead.

If souls were neglected, they became evil spirits and came back to frighten and torment the living. They were called *Lemures* or *Larvæ*. In May of each year, black beans were thrown by night to these spirits.

Augurs and Haruspices.—The Romans believed that signs or presages came from the gods to indicate their will,



HARUSPEX INSPECTING THE ENTRAILS.

and that the future might be divined by the interpretation of these signs. Before undertaking a matter of any importance, the first thing was to consult the gods. The magistrate before convoking an assembly, the general before engaging in battle or crossing a river, sought to read these signs; this was called taking the auspices (*avis* and *specio*).

There were various ways of doing this: some men watched

the birds that passed overhead; some (*haruspices*) sacrificed an animal and examined its entrails; some brought food to the sacred chickens belonging to the state, whose refusal to eat indicated clearly that the gods disapproved the enterprise.

An unasked-for sign was supposed to be sent by the gods as a warning to discontinue an enterprise. Unfavorable signs were such as a trembling of the earth, a storm, a flash of lighting, or a rat running across the road.

Rome had a special body, the "public augurs of the Roman people," whose duty it was to interpret presages. The augurs decided if a mistake had been made in celebrating a ceremony; in this case it had to be begun over again. The magistrate was accompanied by an augur who told him whether a sign was favorable or not.

Greek Rites.—The Romans from earliest times have borrowed beliefs and customs from their neighbors, the Etruscans and the Greeks, especially the Greeks of Cumæ.

They began to worship certain of the Greek gods, Apollo, Latona, Heracles, whom they called Hercules, Castor and Pollux. They worshipped them according to Greek rites, with head uncovered and crowned with laurel.

They guarded carefully a Greek collection of sacred verse, the Sibylline Books, supposed to be the work of the Sibyl of Cumæ. This Sibyl, a priestess of Apollo, gave oracles in a cave near Cumæ.

The Sibyl, it was said, had come one day to King Tarquin, bringing nine sacred books which she offered him for a certain price. The king demurred, thinking the price too high. The Sibyl threw three books into the fire and doubled the price for the remaining six. The king refused, and said she was making fun of him. The Sibyl then threw three more books into the fire and again doubled the price for the three that were left. The king reflected and finally bought the three books at the price the Sibyl asked.

A body of priests, first two, then ten, and finally fifteen, were made guardians of the Sibylline Books. Only in time of danger were the books consulted, by order of the senate, and the guardians declared what must be done.

When the Gauls marched on Rome, the senate had the Sibylline Books consulted. In them was found the prophecy that the Gauls would take possession of the soil of the city. Consequently, that the prophecy might be fulfilled, the guardians declared that the Romans must bury alive in the market-place two Gauls, a man and a woman; and this was done.

* The Roman priests of the various colleges never formed a distinct religious caste. A man might hold one of these sacred offices as he might a political office, and for a limited time. Indeed the ministries of religion were state functions. Least of all was any idea of special sanctity attached to the priests.

PARALLEL READING.

- Duruy..... cc. iv, v.
Mommsen.... Bk. I, c. xii.
Coulanges.... *The Ancient City.*
Guerber *Myths of Greece and Rome.*
Cicero..... *On the Nature of the Gods; On Divination.*

CHAPTER V.

ESTABLISHMENT OF LEGAL EQUALITY.

The Plebeians.—The inequality between patrician and plebeian persisted under the consuls as under the kings. The patricians, descended from the old families that had always governed Rome, preserved the right of being elected magistrates or chosen senators; they knew the ancient forms that were employed in the tribunals; they alone could marry according to their own peculiar rites. The reason was that they alone could practise the old ceremonies of the Roman religion, take the necessary auspices before holding an assembly, pronouncing judgment, or celebrating a marriage.

The plebeians, not having the right to take part in these ceremonies, found themselves treated as outsiders on this account, excluded from the senate and its functions, unable to marry into the patrician families, or even to obtain justice.

It is probable that almost all the plebeians were of foreign descent; Rome, as fast as she subjugated the neighboring towns, seized their territory and annexed their inhabitants. But, in becoming citizens of Rome, they did not become patricians; they became plebeians, and plebeians their descendants remained, inferior to the descendants of the primitive Romans.

Among these plebeians there were poor people who, in hard times, borrowed of the wealthy patricians; they bound themselves to pay the sum with exorbitant interest (from twelve to twenty-five per cent). When a man could not pay, the creditor had a hold on his persons (*nexus*); he could

arrest the debtor, imprison him, bind him with chains, and make him work for him.

There were, on the other hand, plebeians who owned extensive lands and wealth, and were organized in *gentes*; these were people whose ancestors had been governors of some Latin city. Thus the *gens* Cæcilia, of which the wealthy family of Metellus was a branch, claimed descent from Cæculus, founder and king of Præneste. These plebeians served in the Roman army at their own expense, and lived on their estates, like patricians. The only difference was that the patricians were descended from an old Roman family, and the plebeians from an old family of another city.

These plebeians, dissatisfied with their inferior position, demanded the same rights as the patricians. The patricians were much fewer in number, but being in control of the government they refused to change the laws. The plebeians gradually forced them to yield and to grant them one by one the same rights; but it required nearly two hundred years (c. 500–300 B.C.) before they gained complete equality.

The Romans related many legends of the struggles during these two centuries, but nothing is known definitely more than the names of the magistrates and some dates.

The Secession.—The legend tells the beginning of the struggle as follows:

Rome was making war on the Volsci. The consul, Appius Claudius, a hard and insolent man, was calling the roll of those who were to serve in the army, when suddenly a man appeared in the public square, emaciated and covered with wounds. He related his story to the assembled people: "he had been a warrior all his life, had taken part in twenty-eight battles, and attained the rank of centurion. His enemies had burned his house, destroyed his crops, and driven off his cattle; he had borrowed and had not been able to repay, his creditor had had him placed in chains and beaten. This was how the defenders of the country were rewarded." The plebeians were indignant and refused to be enrolled. The other consul promised to investigate their grievances and persuaded them to go to the war. But, the campaign safely over, the senate refused to

listen to the plebeians, and the consuls led the people on an expedition.

Once out of the city the plebeians broke away from the patricians, and went up on a mountain,¹ where they fortified themselves and declared that they would never enter Rome again. Hot cakes were brought to them there every morning by a goddess, Anna Perenna.

The senate was disturbed at the sight of the abandoned city, and sent a deputation of ten former consuls to ask the plebeians to return. One of the envoys, Menenius Agrippa, related to them the following fable: "Once upon a time the Members refused to work any longer for the Belly, which led a lazy life and grew fat upon their toils. But receiving no longer any nourishment from the Belly they soon began to pine away, and found it was to the Belly that they owed their life and strength." The plebeians were won by this argument, made peace with the patricians, and came back to Rome. The senate permitted them to have leaders to defend them (494 B.C.).

The Tribunes of the People.—New magistrates were created at this time (493 B.C.), the tribunes of the people (of the *plebs*, or lower order); two at first, later four, and finally ten. They were plebeians, elected for one year, whose duty it was to protect plebeians against the magistrates. They had the right of *intervention*. If any one, even a consul, wished to arrest a plebeian, the tribune might simply place himself before the threatened man, and no one dared oppose his defence. The tribune was not supported by armed lictors, like the consul; a single attendant walked before him to clear the way. His position was sustained by religion and so he did not need force. Whoever dared to resist a tribune of the people was sacrificed to the gods of the lower world, that is, put to death and his goods confiscated.

A tribune could not leave Rome and had to keep his house open day and night so that no one should come to him in vain. His rights did not extend beyond the city walls; outside the city the consuls remained supreme.

The tribunes increased their power gradually. They could keep the senate or the magistrates from adopting measures

¹ Some authorities say on the Aventine hill, others on the Sacred hill.

they thought unwise, by simply saying *Veto*, I forbid. A tribune's veto put a stop to any action. They later acquired the right to sit in the senate and take part in its deliberations. They finally gained the power of convoking the people in assembly, to address them, and even to call for a vote.¹ They became as powerful in Rome as the consuls.

Legend of Coriolanus.—The tribunes of the people began to struggle against the consuls and the leading patricians. In twenty-six years they are said to have accused seven consuls before the people. To this same period belongs the legend of Coriolanus.

Marcus, a patrician and the bravest warrior in Rome, surnamed Coriolanus because he had taken the city of Corioli from the Volsci, was strongly opposed to the tribunes and the plebeians. There was a famine in Rome and the senate bought wheat to distribute among the people. Coriolanus declared that this opportunity must be seized to abolish the tribunate. "No wheat or no tribunes." The tribune accused Coriolanus before the people, and he was condemned to exile.

Coriolanus went to the Volsci, whom he had conquered, and offered to lead them against Rome. The Volsci gave him an army. He conquered the Romans, encamped near the city, and ravaged the lands of the plebeians. The frightened Romans sent to him first the consuls, then the priests, to beg him to spare his country. He refused to listen to them.

The women of Rome sought out his mother, Veturia, and all together marched to the enemy's camp. Coriolanus saw the procession coming, led by his mother and his wife leading his two children by the hand. He went to meet them, and ordered the fasces lowered as a mark of respect. His wife wept; his mother simply said: "Am I speaking to my son or to an enemy?" Coriolanus, much moved, withdrew with the Volscian army and died in exile, some say by execution, some by his own hand.

About this time the people adopted a number of laws. One law² deprived the consul of the right to sentence citizens to death without trial and gave the accused the right to appeal to the people; the consul might still impose a fine,

[¹ See Appendix A for a discussion of the nature of these plebeian assemblies.]

[² In the first year of the republic, 509 B.C.]

however. Another law limited fines to thirty oxen and two sheep.¹ Another forbade interrupting a tribune while he was speaking in the assembly.

The Decemvirs.—Hitherto Roman judges had dealt with cases according to custom, there being no written laws. Now the judges were patricians; they alone knew the customs and could apply them as they wished. The tribunes proposed formulation of the laws, that every citizen might be acquainted with them. The patricians resisted at first; it is said that they even came to blows and that a foreigner, a Latin named Herdonius, took advantage of the opportunity offered by this dissension, entered Rome with a troop of slaves and seized the citadel on the Capitoline hill (460 B.C.), whence he was driven only through the aid of the dictator of another Latin city (Tusculum).

The senate finally accepted the proposition, and sent three men into foreign countries to study the laws best suited to Rome. It then appointed ten patricians who were called *decemvirs* (ten men). They were charged with a double duty: to prepare the new laws and to govern the city; all other powers, consuls, and tribunes were suppressed. The decemvirs governed in turn, each for a day, and accompanied for that day by twelve lictors (451 B.C.).

At the end of a year, the work being still incomplete, new decemvirs were elected.

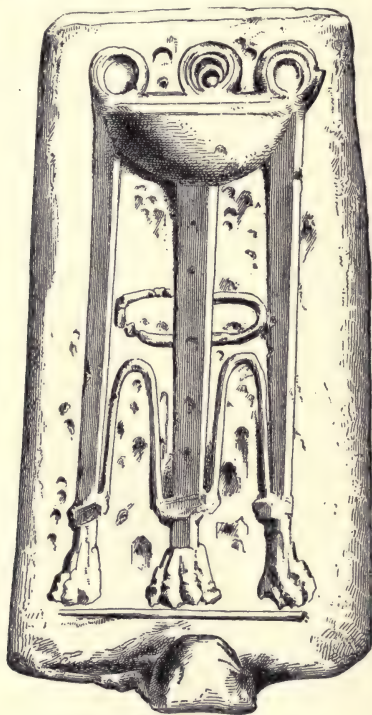
Laws of the Twelve Tables.—The laws prepared by the decemvirs were written on twelve tables of stone; they were set up in the public square that all might become acquainted with them, and then placed in the Capitol. These laws were applied for centuries and were, says Cicero, "the source of all Roman law." They were written in short, crisp, imperious sentences.² The old Roman customs in all their crudity were set down in law.

The father of the family, during his lifetime, had the

[¹ Some authorities say two oxen and thirty sheep.]

² We know only a few lines of them.

power of life and death over his children. He might cause them to be abandoned at birth; he might sell them three times over. His wife was completely in his power; he might cast her off or put her to death. A woman was never free; as a girl she belonged to her father and must take the husband he chose for her; as a wife she belonged to her



AS, HALF SIZE.
(Primitive Roman Coin.)

husband; should she become a widow, she must obey her husband's heir.

The law condemned to death whosoever should, by magic words, cause his neighbor's crops to come to his own fields; for the Romans believed in sorcery.

The insolvent debtor was to be thus treated: "He shall be bound with thongs and chains weighing not more than fifteen pounds.¹ . . . At the end of sixteen days he shall be sold beyond the Tiber. If he has many creditors, he shall be cut in pieces."

The new feature of these laws was that they were known to all and that they were the same for all citizens, patrician or plebeian.

Fall of the Decemvirs.—The decemvirs changed their policy the second year. They followed the most violent one among them, Appius Claudius. Each had twelve lictors, so that their combined forces were one hundred and twenty. Their insolence made them hated by all, and when they had completed the laws they refused to retire from office. They were finally driven out (449 B.C.) by a revolution concerning which we have only a legend.

Appius Claudius had noticed a beautiful young girl named Virginia, daughter of Virginius and betrothed to Icilius, both plebeians of high standing. He sent one of his clients to demand her as his slave. The client took the case to the courts. Virginia wept; her lover protested; but Claudius, who was acting as judge, gave the girl provisionally into the custody of his client and postponed a decision till the next day.

Virginius was away from Rome with the army; a messenger hurried to him, and the next morning he presented himself at the tribunal. Claudius refused to hear him, declared Virginia to be the client's slave, and gave orders to seize her. Virginius led his daughter to a butcher's stall and plunged a knife into her breast. Hastening back to the camp he told his story to his comrades, roused their indignation, and led them back to Rome. The decemvirs were alarmed and abdicated.

Appius Claudius killed himself in prison; the other decemvirs were exiled and their goods confiscated.²

¹ The Roman pound was lighter than ours.

[² The view that makes Appius Claudius a haughty and cruel tyrant is not universally accepted. Some historians see in him rather a sincere patriot who desired to harmonize the interests of both orders. He succeeded in pleasing neither, and died a martyr to a lofty purpose. The legend of Virginia is, in this view of his work, treated as a patrician attempt to blacken his character. Compare the parallel readings suggested at the end of the chapter.]

Marriage Law.—Plebeians could not contract marriages with patricians, and the decemvirs had inscribed this prohibition in the last of their tables.

A tribune of the people, Canuleius by name, proposed a law permitting marriages between patricians and plebeians and had it adopted (445 B.C.). Legendary accounts tell us that the senate was strongly opposed to it and that the plebeians forced its acceptance by resorting to the Janiculum again.

Military Tribunes with Consular Power.—The tribunes also demanded that plebeians should be eligible as consuls. Religion forbade it; for, before electing a consul, the gods must be consulted by taking the auspices, that is to say, by watching the flight of birds. Now religion forbade taking auspices in the name of a plebeian, and so the patricians said that the gods would have none but a patrician for consul. As a compromise the election of consuls was then suspended and in their place new officers were elected for one year without taking the auspices. They were called “military tribunes with consular power,” and their number varied from three to six. They commanded the army, while a “prefect of the city” governed Rome. Occasionally the consuls were restored. These tribunes were all patricians until 400 B.C., when four plebeians were elected.

The Censors.—In this same year (445 B.C.) two new magistrates were created; these were the censors, elected once in four years to take the census, that is, to make a list of all the citizens, and to farm out the lands and revenues of the state. Patricians only could be censors.¹

The Plebeian Consuls.—Many years passed before plebeians were admitted to the consulate. Finally it was decided that one consul should always be a plebeian (366 B.C.). The silly legend runs as follows:

A patrician, Fabius Ambustus, had given his two daughters in marriage, the elder to Sulpicius, a patrician, the younger to

¹ See Chapter XII for the work of the censors in the second century.

Licinius, a plebeian. One day when the two sisters were together in the house of Sulpicius, a knock came at the door. The younger sister was frightened and asked who was there. The elder sister began to laugh. Her husband, Sulpicius, being a magistrate, a lictor always announced his arrival by striking the door with his fasces. The younger sister, having married a plebeian, was ignorant of this custom. She was greatly humiliated and saddened to think she would never see her husband escorted by a lictor. She told her grief to her father, and he promised her the same dignities that her sister enjoyed. He then consulted with his son-in-law, Licinius, who was a tribune of the people. The latter proposed a law providing that in future one of the two consuls should be a plebeian (376). The senate refused, and for ten years Licinius and his friend Sextius were reëlected tribunes. Finally the patricians yielded; the law was passed and Sextius was elected consul.

After this, at least one of the consuls was always a plebeian and sometimes both.¹

The Prætorship.—At the same time that one of the consulships was granted to the plebeians, a new magistrate was created, the prætor. He was charged with the administration of justice. In the absence of the consuls, he was also empowered to convoke the senate or the assembly, and even to command an army. He was at first alone in office, but later shared his duties with another; both were necessarily patricians.

The Assembly of Tribes and the Plebiscite.—While these struggles were going on, the tribunes of the people had set up a new form of assembly, the assembly of tribes, or *comitia tributa*. It was not necessary to take the auspices before convoking it; the tribune simply announced the day on which it should meet.

It met in the Forum (the market-place) on a market-day when the peasants were all in town. The tribune addressed the people, then asked their advice. The citizens voted by grouping in tribes. The territory of Rome was divided into

¹ Some Roman historians tell us of the laws of Licinius on the consulate and the division of the land. It is not certain that these laws ever existed.

tribes, or communities, similar to the cantons of modern France; in this way each man voted with his neighbor. The decision given by this assembly was called the *plebiscite* (decision of the plebs).

The patricians were at length obliged to accept these decisions. It was settled¹ that a plebiscite voted by the people assembled in tribes was as binding as a law passed by the old assembly. There was no longer any difference between plebiscite and law.²

Establishment of Political Equality.—Little by little all the patrician privileges were done away with. The plebeians were given the right to be elected censors (338 B.C.), prætors (337 B.C.), pontiffs and augurs (300 B.C.), and finally pontifex maximus. They were eligible to all but certain old religious offices which religion permitted only patricians to perform.

Debtors were no longer obliged to pledge their persons; they risked only imprisonment and sale by their creditors.

All citizens were from this time of equal political rights. The remaining distinctions were not those of patrician and plebeian but of rich and poor, of office-holder and private individual.

SOURCES.

Cicero.....	<i>On the Commonwealth</i> , Bk. II, §§ 33-44.
Livy	Bks. II-IV.
Eutropius	Bk. I, §§ 18, 23.
Plutarch.....	<i>Coriolanus</i> .
Florus.....	Bk. I, cc. xxii-xxvi.

¹ The Romans recognized three laws that had given the force of law to the plebiscite, the laws of 449, 339, and 287 B.C.; it is possible that the first of these had not been applied.

² [See Appendix . . . for a statement of the relation of this assembly or *concilium plebis* to the various comitia.]

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy.....	cc. vi-ix.
Ihne.....	Bk. II, cc. ii, vii-xiii; <i>Early Rome</i> , cc. xiii-xiv, xviii, xix.
Mommsen	Bk. II, cc. i-iii.
Abbott... ..	<i>Roman Political Institutions</i> , c. iv.
Botsford	c. iv.
Greenidge.....	<i>Roman Public Life</i> , c. ii.
How and Leigh....	c. vi.
Morey	cc. vii-ix.
Myers.....	c. v.
Pelham.....	Bk. II, c. i.
Shuckburgh	c. viii.

CHAPTER VI.

CONQUEST OF ITALY.

Rome and Italy.—In the eighth century before Christ, the Roman people possessed only the city on the Palatine and some square miles of the surrounding territory. In 266 B.C. Rome was mistress of all Italy,¹ from the Apennines on the north to Sicily on the south, and had become one of the greatest cities of the world.

This change had taken place in five centuries. The Romans had attacked the peoples of Italy one by one; sometimes defeated, they finally overcame and subdued all rivals.

During these five centuries Rome had been continually at war. The temple of Janus, whose door was closed in time of peace, had been always open. But of the history of these wars we know very little; the Romans themselves knew little of the conquest of Italy beyond a few facts, mingled with many legends.

Conquest of Latium.—The Romans had begun by subjugating their nearest neighbors, the peoples of Latium. A legend runs thus:

After Tarquin had been expelled from Rome the Latins took up his cause and fought a great battle with the Romans near Lake Regillus (496 B.C.). During the battle, two warriors on white horses were seen fighting at the head of the Romans; they were the first to reach the camp of the enemy. The Romans, aroused by their example, put the Latins to flight.

The general wished to reward the two heroes, but no one

¹ What we call northern Italy was then Cisalpine Gaul; the Italy of the ancients reached only to the Apennines.

could find them. At Rome on the evening of the battle, people saw two warriors covered with blood and dust washing their arms in Juno's fountain. The strangers announced the Roman victory. They were the demi-gods Castor and Pollux, the two horsemen who had fought for the Romans. The Roman people, to show their gratitude, built them a temple. On a rock in the battle-field was found the hoof-print of a gigantic horse.

An old treaty between the Romans and the Latins, graven on a pillar of bronze, said: "There shall be peace between Rome and the Latins as long as the heavens shall be above the earth and the earth under the heavens. They shall not take up arms against one another; the one shall not allow an enemy of the other to pass through its territory. Each shall aid the other with all its might" (493 B.C.).

All booty and conquests were to be equally divided between the Romans and the Latins.

Legend of Porsenna.—About the same time Porsenna, king of the Etruscan city of Clusium, defeated the Romans in battle and laid siege to Rome; but accounts differ as to the manner in which this war was brought to a close.

According to some historians Porsenna took Rome and brought the Romans into subjection. The senate sent him the symbols of royal power, ivory throne, sceptre, and crown. The Romans lost all the territory they had north of the Tiber, and Porsenna forbade them to have any implements of iron except farming tools (507 B.C.).

According to another story Porsenna, having come to restore the Tarquins, was stopped in front of Rome. A brave warrior, Horatius Cocles (the one-eyed), fought single-handed against the Etruscan army on the wooden bridge across the Tiber, until the Romans had time to cut the bridge behind him; then threw himself into the water with his armor on and swam safely back to the city. The grateful people erected a statue in his honor.

Porsenna laid siege to Rome. Mucius, a young Roman, resolved one day to sacrifice himself to save his country. He went out of the city with a dagger hidden in his clothes and joined the crowd that surrounded Porsenna. A secretary sitting at the king's side was busy paying the Etruscan soldiers their wages. Mucius, taking him for the king, slew him with a blow of his dagger. He was arrested and brought before King Porsenna. "It was you I meant to slay," said he; "I made a mistake; but there are left three hundred young men in Rome

who have sworn to do the same as I." Then, to show him that a Roman fears neither death nor pain, he put his right hand in a fire that had been lighted for a sacrifice and let it burn there without showing any consciousness of pain. Porsenna was impressed and alarmed; released Mucius, who ever after bore the name of Scævola (the left-handed), and offered peace to the Romans.

Wars against the Volscians, Æquians, and Veientes.

—Rome had as neighbors: on the east the Æquians, who lived in the mountains; on the south the Volscians, divided into several small communities, inhabiting a fertile plain; on the northwest the Etruscan people of Veii, living near the Tiber. Rome made war on these neighbors for nearly two centuries, usually with the help of her allies, the Latins.

The Romans preserved but little history of these wars, but they told stories of several famous warriors. We have already noted (see page 48) the legend of Coriolanus. Here is the legend of Cincinnatus:

Quintius Cincinnatus was so beloved that he was called the father of his soldiers. He had conquered the Æquians, taken Antium, rescued a Roman army that was surrounded by the Æquians, and recovered the Capitol from bandits who had taken it by surprise. He was several times consul and even dictator; he was the leading man in Rome.

One day there came tidings to Rome that the army fighting the Æquians had been surrounded in a mountain-pass and was about to be captured. Quintius alone was able to extricate it. The senate sent for him. The messengers found him in his field near the Tiber digging a ditch, wearing only his tunic and leaning on his spade. In order to receive the messengers of the senate fittingly he washed himself and put on his toga,¹ which his wife brought to him. The messengers then greeted him as "master of the people" and urged him to come with all speed. He jumped into a boat and was soon in the city.

The next morning at dawn he went down to the square, closed all the shops, and ordered all the citizens to appear on the Campus Martius in the evening, each with his arms, five stakes, and five days' rations. He set out the same evening, covered the six leagues in four hours, and all around the enemy's camp dug a ditch and made a palisade. The Æquians thus shut in were forced to surrender. Quintius then returned with the

¹The toga was the dress worn in public.

Roman army which he had rescued. At the end of a fortnight he resigned his office and returned to his farm (458 B.C.).

This is the legend of The Fabii:

The Fabian family governed Rome for several years;¹ at last the people thought them too powerful and drove them from Rome. At that time the Romans were at war with the people of Veii. The Fabii resolved to sacrifice themselves in their country's cause against Veii. Taking with them their clients, they encamped over against Veii on a steep hill near the river Cremera. From this fortified position they ravaged the country of the enemy. They numbered three hundred and six patricians and more than six thousand clients. One day they were surprised by the enemy, and at the end of a day's fighting were all slain. Of the whole family there remained but a child who had been left at Rome on account of his extreme youth (477 B.C.).

Capture of Veii.—The Veientes had been among the most powerful enemies of Rome. Their capital, Veii, built on a steep rock and surrounded by a thick wall, was only four leagues from Rome. The people of Veii had only to cross the Tiber in order to ravage the lands of the Romans. Once they had even taken the Janiculum.

For more than a half-century there had been no war between the two states. When war again broke out between them (405 B.C.) it was a war of extermination. The Roman army encamped before Veii. Up to that time Roman soldiers had served at their own cost and had always returned to their homes in winter. The government now decided to pay soldiers wages and to keep them in camp through the winter in order to push the war. The siege is said to have lasted ten years. The men of Veii called on the other Etruscan peoples to come to their help; but these declared their alliance at an end and stayed at home. Veii was taken, its people massacred or sold; their territory was divided and the city itself was left desolate.

Legend of Camillus.—As to the capture of Veii and the general who captured it, many stories are told.

¹ For seven years all the consuls were Fabii.

The Romans besieged Veii ten years without being able to take it. Camillus, a patrician, famed for his courage, was chosen dictator and entrusted with the direction of the siege. He secretly caused a passage to be dug underground, passing under the wall of Veii and ending beneath the citadel at the spot where stood the temple of Juno, the protecting goddess of Veii. When the work was done he ordered his army to attack the wall, and while the besieged were engaged in meeting the assault a detachment of Romans went through the passage and came beneath Juno's temple. At that moment the king of Veii had just offered a sacrifice. The Romans heard the soothsayer declare, after having surveyed the entrails of the animal: "The gods will give victory to him who shall offer these entrails." Then the Romans rushed from the passage shouting and beating their arms, drove off the men of Veii, seized the entrails and carried them to Camillus, who completed the sacrifice. So was the city taken.

Camillus had promised to build for Juno, the goddess of Veii, a temple on the Aventine. But nobody dared touch the image of the goddess. Camillus caused some young nobles to come from Rome robed as for a festival, and, placing his hand on the image, asked the goddess whether she was willing to leave Veii and take up her abode at Rome. Then the image was heard to say, "I am willing," and of her own accord she followed the Romans.

Camillus entered Rome as a victor on a chariot drawn by four white horses, a thing that ought to have been reserved for the god Jupiter himself. He had promised to give the god Apollo a tenth part of the booty taken at Veii, and as a result every soldier had to give up a tenth of his share. For this Camillus was compelled to pay a fine, and he left Rome. As he was going away he prayed the gods, if his fellow citizens had condemned him unjustly, to make them repent of their injustice.

Invasion of the Gauls.—About this time the wars against the Gauls began. Long before this Gauls had settled in the north of Italy. Their ancestors had come from the country that is to-day France.¹ They had crossed the Alps and conquered the great valley of the Po, which thenceforward bore the name of Gaul. They then had advanced to the shores of the Adriatic as far as Ancona. They spoke the same language as the Gauls of France, a Celtic speech like

¹ The Romans gave to France the name of Gallia Transalpina (beyond the Alps). They called the region of the Po where the Gallic invaders had settled Gallia Cisalpina (this side of the Alps).

that of the Irish and the Bretons. Their tribes bore the same names as some of the tribes in what is now France. One of these Gallic tribes, the Senones,¹ living in the mountains near the Adriatic, attacked Clusium, an Etruscan town. The Romans took the part of Clusium and this brought on war. The legendary account of the affair runs thus:

Thirty thousand Senones came to Clusium asking for lands whereon to settle. The people of Clusium refused, and called on the Romans for help. Rome sent three Fabii to warn the Gauls against breaking the peace. The Gallic chief answered them: "Although this is the first time that we have heard of the Romans, we believe that they are brave men, since the people of Clusium have asked help of them. We shall be glad to keep peace on condition that the people of Clusium, who have too much land, give a part of it to us. If they refuse, we shall fight, and the envoys can tell Rome how much the Gauls are braver than other men." One of the envoys, Fabius Ambustus, asked: "By what right do ye attack Clusium?" The Gaul replied: "Our right we carry on the point of our swords. Everything belongs to the brave."

There was a battle. The three Fabii fought in the army of Clusium; Fabius Ambustus slew a Gallic chief and took his armor. The Gauls asked Rome to punish the Fabii because, having come to them as ambassadors, they ought not to have fought against them. The people refused, and even chose the three Fabii as commanders. The Gauls then came down along the banks of the Tiber without attacking or plundering any of the territory through which they passed, saying that their only quarrel was with the Romans.

Battle of the Allia.—The Gauls met the Roman army eleven miles from Rome at the bank of the little river Allia. The Romans were disastrously defeated.

Siege of the Capitol (390 B.C.).—They retreated, and made no attempt to defend their city, but confined their efforts to defending the citadel of the Capitol, which was built on a steep rock and was easy to defend. The senate, the magistrates, and the priests took refuge there. The inhabitants fled to the neighboring towns. The Gauls burned

¹ There was also in France a tribe called the Senones, whose chief town was Sens.

Rome and laid siege to the Capitol. The following account is given of the siege:

Two days after the battle, towards night, the Gauls arrived before Rome. They found the walls deserted and the gates open. Fearing some trick, they waited for day before attacking. On the morrow they went into the city, and found that the inhabitants had fled, taking their goods with them. The Gauls heard no sound, nor saw anybody; they spread themselves about the city for plunder. In the vestibules in some of the houses they found old men clothed in white robes fringed with purple, with ivory staves in their hands, sitting in ivory chairs, motionless and silent.¹ These were former magistrates who had resolved to sacrifice themselves in order to draw the wrath of the gods on the enemy. The Gauls were at first too much astonished to do them any harm, but one of them venturing to stroke the beard of one of these patriarchs, Papirius by name, the old man smote him on the head with his ivory staff. The Gauls were enraged and slew them all. Then they burned the city.

They tried to storm the Capitol; they were repulsed and established a blockade. One day a Roman, clad in priestly robes, bearing religious symbols, slowly descended the hill and passed through the enemy's camp, climbed the Quirinal hill, where he offered a sacrifice, and slowly returned to the Capitol by the same path. It was one of the Fabii going to perform a religious ceremony which was a yearly duty of his family. The enemy allowed him to pass through.

The Gauls remained encamped at the base of the Capitoline Hill for a long time. The rainy season had begun, and having neither shelter nor provisions, they suffered from hunger and disease. The Romans who had taken refuge at Veii had recalled Camillus from exile, taken him for their leader, and appointed him dictator. Camillus began to plan for the deliverance of the Capitol. A young man undertook to notify the defenders. Crossing the Tiber in a skiff, he reached the foot of the Capitol on a very precipitous side which the enemy had thought it unnecessary to guard, and, aided by the shrubs and brambles, climbed to the citadel.

The Gauls discovered the tracks left by the messenger. On a dark night they climbed up by the same path, and reached the top without being discovered, this side of the hill being left unguarded. But the sacred geese in Juno's temple heard them, and cackled and beat their wings in alarm. The Romans were roused by the noise. Manlius,² who lived near by and was the

¹ According to another account they were all seated in the Forum.

² Manlius was a patrician and resided on the Capitol. He was famed also for his death, which legend tells us happened in this way. He had

first on the scene, struck the Gallic leader on the head with his shield, and sent the whole party crashing down among the rocks. Thus the Capitol was saved by Manlius Capitolinus.

When the garrison had exhausted its provisions it was forced to capitulate. The Gauls consented to leave Rome; the Romans in return promised to pay them one thousand pounds of gold and furnish them with provisions and the means of transportation. But the Gauls brought false weights to measure the gold, and the Romans demanded it back. Then the Gallic chief threw his sword into the scale, saying, "*Væ victis!*" (Woe to the vanquished!)

The legend adds that the Gauls did not succeed in taking the gold home with them. According to some authorities Camillus, on his arrival, sent away the gold, saying that "the land must not be delivered by gold" but by steel, and a battle ensued in the ruined city. Camillus overcame the Gauls, and ordered the allied cities to close their gates to the fugitives, so that all the Gauls that had come to Rome were exterminated.

According to others the ransom was not regained until a century later.

Polybius, the best informed of the ancient historians, says that the Gauls withdrew peaceably with their spoils in order to meet an attack by the Venetians on their northern border.

Except for the unscathed Capitol, Rome was in ruins. The Romans rebuilt their city hastily—in a year, it is said,—with houses of brick and wood, and very irregular streets.

Further Wars against the Gauls.—The Gauls who had settled in the Apennines were for a long time formidable foes to Rome. They allied themselves with the cities that were hostile to Rome.

become jealous of Camillus, and, to make a party for himself, he redeemed the enslaved debtors from their creditors. The patricians wished to be rid of him, and accused him of wishing to make himself king. He was imprisoned and led before the people assembled in the Forum. But he pointed to the Capitol and asked if they would be so ungrateful as to condemn the savior of their country. The assembly refused to condemn him. The patricians convoked the people again, but now in a part of the city from which the Capitol could not be seen, and this time Manlius was condemned and thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock. This gave rise to the proverb: "The Tarpeian rock is near the Capitol." Manlius' house was torn down, and it was forbidden to build any house on the Capitol in the future.

They came one day to the base of the wall, by the Colline Gate; they then made a camp by enclosing a space with their chariots, and thither they retired after laying waste the country.

Several times they ravaged the country about Rome. Then the whole body of Roman citizens were called on to fight against them; laying all business aside, each citizen had to procure arms and hold himself always ready for a campaign.

These wars with the Gauls lasted nearly a half-century. Beyond the legendary stories little is known concerning them.

Submission of the Latins.—Meanwhile Rome had finally completed the subjugation of the Volscians who lived in the plain in the southern part of Latium. The Volscian cities were in ruins and the country had become a deserted, fever-laden morass, the famous Pontine Marshes. Then the Romans began to conquer Campania.

The Latins, Rome's allies, revolted and a terrible war ensued (340 B.C.). Once more we are reduced to legendary accounts.

The Latins had sent two magistrates to Rome to demand complete equality with the Romans. The senate received them in the Capitol. The envoys demanded that one consul and half the senators should be Latins. When this proposition was made Manlius cried: "Hear this blasphemy, O Jupiter!" and swore to slay the first Latin who should enter the senate. The Latin Annius replied by insulting Jupiter Capitolinus. A flash of lightning followed and a clap of thunder, and Annius, who was descending the Capitoline by the stairway of one hundred steps, rolled to the bottom and was killed.

The two armies met at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. The left wing of the Romans began to weaken. Decius, one of the consuls, called the pontifex maximus and told him that he was going to consecrate himself in order to win the victory for his people. He placed a javelin beneath his feet, veiled his head, and, standing, repeated the sacred formula: "Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, Novensiles, Indigetes, gods who have us and our enemies in your power, and you, Manes, I pray you of your grace to send strength and victory to the Roman people and strike with terror, destruction, and death the enemies of the Roman people. By the formula I have uttered, for the good of the state, the army, and the allies of the Roman

people, I devote, together with myself, the army and allies of the enemy to the Manes and the Earth." He laid aside his toga, armed himself, mounted a horse, and threw himself into the midst of the enemy.

He was killed. But the Romans won the day, thanks to the devotion of Decius.

Rome subdued the Latins and broke up their alliance. She forbade the Latin cities to make war or to hold assemblies among themselves. The Latins were to fight only by order of Roman generals.

Antium had a fleet of war-vessels. The Romans subjugated her territory and seized her fleet (338 B.C.).

The Samnite War.—The Samnites, the mountain warriors of the Abruzzi, had joined Rome against the Gauls. They



A SAMNITE WARRIOR.

had also shared with Rome in the partition of the Volscian lands. The alliance was broken up over the question of Campania. Campania was a very fertile plain, whose capital, Capua, was famed for its wealth. The people of Capua had

asked to be governed by Rome and had become Roman citizens.

We are told that the Samnites had already made war on Rome through jealousy (343-341 B.C.).

Other Campanian cities took the Samnite warriors into their service. The Greeks of Palæopolis made so bold as to ravage the territory occupied by the Romans, and a Roman army came to besiege Palæopolis. The Samnites defended the city. This was the beginning of a war which lasted more than twenty years (326-304 B.C.), and was for a long time indecisive. Rome never forgot the disaster of the *Furculæ Caudinæ* (The Caudine Forks), and this is how it was described:

It was during the first years of the war that the Roman army, under command of the two consuls, while crossing the mountains on its way to Luceria, imprudently engaged in battle in the defile known as the Forks of Caudium. The Samnites had barred the road ahead with trees and rocks, and they now cut off retreat in the rear. The Romans found themselves caught between two steep wooded precipices in the middle of a pass of which the enemy held both ends. They had hardly room to encamp.

Pontius, chief of the Samnites, asked advice of his father Herennius, who said to him: "You must choose between two courses, either win the Romans by clemency, or seize the opportunity to crush them by exterminating their army." Pontius did neither. He consented to let the Romans go, but on condition that the consuls, in the name of the Roman people, should promise to withdraw the Roman garrisons from Samnium. The consuls swore and left with the Samnites as hostages six thousand horsemen, sons of noble families.

It was the custom among the peoples of Italy, when an army capitulated, to make the vanquished pass under the yoke before dismissing them. A lance was placed across the top of two lances and stuck in the ground, and under this the defeated army must file with bowed heads. The Romans issued from their camp unarmed and clad each in a single garment, and passed under the yoke. Their arms and outfit, including everything in the camp, belonged by custom to the victor (321 B.C.).

The Roman people themselves had the sole right to make a treaty. Must they now consider themselves bound by the oath of the consuls? The senate declared that the consuls had ex-

ceeded their powers and that the treaty was void. Postumius, himself one of the consuls, suggested a way of salving their consciences while breaking their agreement.

The *fetiales*, who had the function of declaring war, led the consuls who had signed this treaty to the camp of the Samnites and handed them over naked and in chains, saying: "Since these men, without authority from the Roman people, promised to make a treaty with you and thus wronged you, we hand them over to you." Thereupon Postumius gave the herald a blow with his knee, saying, "I am now a Samnite, and by striking the herald, contrary to the law of nations, I have given Rome the right to make war on the Samnites." Pontius paid no attention to this buffoonery and demanded the fulfilment of the treaty. But the Romans resumed the war and were in the end victorious.

The Samnites made a long resistance; there were battles in Latium, Campania, and Apulia. The Etruscans joined the Samnites (311 B.C.), but the Romans compelled them to withdraw from the war.

The Romans then entered the Samnite country, took the fortress of Bovianum, which held a large quantity of silver, and met the Samnites in a great battle. The Samnites were defeated and decided to ask for peace.

Rome proceeded to bring into her alliance, either by persuasion or by force, the cities of Campania and the small mountain peoples.

Conquest of the Samnites.—Before many years had passed the Samnites renewed the war (298 B.C.), this time having as allies the Etruscans, Lucanians, Umbrians, and Sabines.

The Romans had with them the Latins and the Campanians. They invaded the Samnite territory and spent five months in laying it waste. Their camping-grounds were afterwards recognized by the ruin and desolation surrounding them.

But Rome was still threatened by a great danger. She had to meet the force that was marching against her,—Samnites, Etruscans, and Umbrians, aided by an army of Senonese (Gauls). Rome sent out five armies, which

destroyed the army of Samnites and Gauls in the plain of Sentinum (295 B.C.).



TOMB OF L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.
(A general in the Samnite War.)

The Samnites gave up the fight in 290 B.C. They retained their government, but swore never to make war again except by Rome's command. Twenty thousand Roman farmers were sent to settle in Venusia, in order to keep a watch over them.

Conquest of Central Italy.—About the same time Rome conquered the Sabines of the mountains (290 B.C.) and took from them a part of their land, which was then given to Roman citizens. The Romans reached the Adriatic, where they established a colony, Hadria. The Etruscans had several times attacked the Romans during the Samnite wars, but each of their towns had a government of its own and they never acted together; and each time, by ravaging their lands, the Romans forced them to sue for peace.

Once more the Senonese Gauls, crossing the mountains, invaded Etruria and laid siege to Arretium, an Etruscan town allied with Rome. The Roman army sent to help Arretium was destroyed. The Romans in revenge invaded the territory of the Senonese; and slew or expelled the inhab-

itants. They then sent thither a colony, Sena Gallica (284 B.C.). The Boii, another tribe of Gauls living south of the Po, joined the remnant of the Senonese, invaded Etruria and marched on Rome. There was a battle near Lake Vadimon, in which the Gauls were slaughtered, reddening the Tiber with their blood. The Boii then made peace (283 B.C.).

Soon after the Etruscans made their submission and became allies of the Romans.

Thus Rome became supreme over 'all Italy, except the part in the south held by the Greeks.

War with Pyrrhus.—The largest Greek city in Italy was at that time Tarentum. This city had a good harbor, the only good one on that coast; through it passed the commerce of the mountain region behind. The Tarentines bought wools of the mountaineers, which they manufactured into colored fabrics. They made also large vases of red clay which were used for keeping wine and oil. They were very wealthy, wore fine clothes, and were fond of banquets and shows. This is the story of their embroilment with the Romans:

Thurii, a Greek town being besieged by the mountaineers of Lucania and Bruttium, asked the Romans for help. Fabricius led some Roman soldiers to its aid, but found his force too small to attack the besiegers. Suddenly they saw a young man of enormous stature placing a ladder against the wall of the enemy's camp and climbing to the assault; the Romans followed him and captured the camp. The warrior to whom they owed the victory was nowhere to be found, but they remembered that his helmet bore a plume like that of the statue of Mars, and Fabricius decreed a service of thanksgiving to the god Mars. The Romans maintained a garrison at Thurii.

Ten Roman ships were sent thither along the coast and passed in front of Tarentum. Now the Romans were under treaty engagement to Tarentum not to sail beyond Cape Lacinium. The Tarentines attacked the ten ships and sank four of them. Later they drove the Romans out of Thurii and sacked the town.

The senate sent ambassadors to Tarentum to demand reparation. The Tarentines assembled in the theatre, according to

Greek custom, to receive the Roman ambassadors; but when these sought to speak, the crowd began to laugh and hiss. One, more impudent than the rest, threw mud on the toga of Postumius, head of the embassy, who said: "You may laugh now, but this robe shall be washed in your blood."

Rome declared war against Tarentum (281 B.C.). The Tarentines, accustomed to peace, had no inclination for fighting. They took into their service Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who was at the head of a warrior nation of mountaineers on the other side of the Adriatic.

Pyrrhus was already famed as a general. He claimed descent from Achilles. He had conquered Macedonia and had fought in Asia. He was said to dream of conquering Sicily and Italy and then the whole west as far as the ocean. The Tarentines are said to have promised him three hundred and fifty thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand horsemen.

He crossed the sea with his army of twenty thousand foot-soldiers, two thousand archers, three thousand Thessalian horsemen, and twenty elephants.

The Romans were at first troubled. Their religious scruple forbade them to fight an enemy before declaring war on him according to ancient form: the herald should go to the enemy's frontier and hurl a javelin on his land. How should they declare war on Pyrrhus, whose land lay beyond the sea? They hit upon an expedient. An Epirote, a deserter from the army of Pyrrhus, bought a farm. They held that this farm had thereby become Epirote territory. The herald went to it, hurled his javelin, and declared war.

The Roman army advanced upon Pyrrhus and met him in a plain near Heraclea (280 B.C.). The two sides were very evenly matched. Pyrrhus, like Alexander before him, led the charge at the head of his cavalry, while the phalanx stood motionless, presenting to the enemy a hedge of pikes. At length the elephants charged; the Romans, never having seen these enormous creatures before, were panic-stricken,

and fled, abandoning their camp. The Epirotes had, however, sustained heavy loss of life.

It was said that, the day after the battle, Pyrrhus visited the field and noticed that all the Roman corpses had been smitten in front, showing that none had fled. He then remarked: "Another victory like this would send me back alone to Epirus." This gave rise to the expression "a Pyrrhic victory," to indicate a victory purchased at great cost.

There was also a report that Pyrrhus proposed taking the Roman prisoners into his service, and that none would accept liberty at this price.

After this victory Pyrrhus summoned the Samnites and Lucanians who had revolted against Rome, and marched with them on Latium. On his way, however, he stopped and spent the winter negotiating with Rome. The negotiation was carried on by his friend Cineas, a Thessalian Greek, who is famed in legend.

Cineas was said to have tried to turn Pyrrhus aside from his expedition. He came to Rome with gifts for the senators and rich stuffs for their wives, but none would accept them. The day that he made proposals of peace to the senate, Appius Claudius, aged and blind, had himself carried into the hall and passionately denounced the idea of peace. "Let Pyrrhus first leave Italy," he said; "then we will talk of peace." The senate ordered Cineas to leave Rome the same night.

Cineas, on returning to Pyrrhus, said: "After a sight of the senate I feel as though I had looked upon an assembly of kings. Fighting the Romans is like fighting Hydra, for their number, like their courage, is boundless."

Pyrrhus offered to release the prisoners and to become an ally of Rome if Rome would give up her claim to Apulia. The Romans refused.

In the following spring, Pyrrhus besieged Asculum. The consuls came against him with seventy thousand men. They arranged with Pyrrhus the time and place for a battle.

Pyrrhus placed in the centre and on the right the Greeks, the South Italians, and the Tarentines, armed with white shields, on the left the Samnites, and on the two flanks his horsemen, archers, and elephants. At a given signal the

Greeks began to sing the pæan and the cavalry, urging their horses, galloped around the Roman squadrons, then wheeled about, and charged again. The infantry on the right were forcing the Romans back, but those in the centre began to give way. Pyrrhus advanced his elephants. The Romans, to meet this move, had prepared three hundred chariots armed with scythes and long poles, on the end of each of which was a bunch of tow dipped in pitch; they trusted to the smoke and the smell to cause a stampede among the elephants. But on each elephant's back rode an archer, under shelter; these archers shot down the drivers of the chariots. The soldiers, slipping in among the chariots, cut the traces and rendered them useless.

While the fighting was in progress, a troop of Italian warriors who were with the Roman army climbed to an elevation behind the almost unguarded camp of the Epirotes, took possession of it without fighting, pillaged it, and set it on fire. The Epirote horsemen, hastily summoned by the news, found the camp already in flames.

At nightfall the fighting ceased and both sides retired, the Romans crossing to their camp on the other side of the river (279 B.C.).

Pyrrhus had had enough of this war. The Sicilians asked him for help against the Carthaginians, and he went to Sicily and remained there two years.

The physician in attendance on Pyrrhus had offered the Roman consul Fabricius to poison his master. Fabricius declined to take advantage of so dishonorable an offer. Instead he sent to warn Pyrrhus and, in return for his friendly act, received back all his prisoners without ransom.

Conquest of Tarentum.—As soon as Pyrrhus had gone, the Romans subdued all the peoples of the south and ravaged the Samnite country.

When the two years were past Pyrrhus returned to Italy. While crossing the straits, his fleet and his military chest were seized by the Carthaginians; being in need of money,

he took the treasure from the temple of Proserpina, at Cumæ. From that time he was pursued by ill fortune, which he attributed to the wrath of the goddess.

The Romans withdrew into Samnium. Pyrrhus followed and attacked them near Beneventum. The Romans had at last learned how to fight the elephants and met them with a storm of heated arrows; they defeated Pyrrhus and took his camp (275 B.C.). Pyrrhus returned to Epirus with a poor remnant of eight thousand men.

Two years later he was killed by a tile thrown by an old woman during the attack on Argos, in Greece.

He had left a garrison in Tarentum, but after his death his general handed the city over to the Romans. The walls of the city were then destroyed and the inhabitants deprived of their arms.

A number of wars were fought after this with the mountaineers and with an Etruscan city called Volsinii, which was destroyed. Rome was then mistress of the whole of Italy (266 B.C.).

SOURCES.

Appian.....	<i>Foreign Wars</i> , Bks. II-IV.
Eutropius	Bk. I, § 11-11, § 18.
Livy	Bk. II-X.
Plutarch	<i>Camillus, Pyrrhus</i> .
Polybius.....	c. i, § 7; c. ii, §§ 18-21.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy.....	cc. vii, x, xi, xiv-xvii.
Ihne.....	Bk. II, cc. iii-xviii; <i>Early Rome</i> , cc. xx, xxi.
Mommsen.....	Bk. II, cc. iv-vii.
Botsford.....	c. iii.
How and Leigh....	cc. x, xi, xii-xvi.
Morey.....	cc. x-xiii.
Myers.....	c. vi.
Pelham	Bk. II, c. ii.
Shuckburgh	cc. vi, vii, ix-xv.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROMAN ARMY.

War.—The temple of Janus was kept open whenever the Roman people were at war. In five centuries it had been closed but once and then only for a few years. The Romans were constantly at war, and in the end subjugated all the other peoples of the Mediterranean basin.

In order to understand the secret of their success, it is necessary to know how the Roman state was organized for war.

The Primitive Roman Army.—In the early days the Roman army was like that of the other Latin and Greek peoples. When war broke out, the king, later the consuls, assembled the fighting men. All the citizens were liable for service; they came armed and equipped at their own expense. Each man's place in the army depended on his wealth; the richest served as horsemen, *celeres* (later *equites*). These were divided into squadrons of thirty men each. The poorest, being unable to buy an equipment, fought outside the army by throwing javelins or stones, and were called *velites*.

Those who could furnish an outfit formed the regular infantry, called the *legion* (the levy). There was at first but one legion, later two, still later two for each consul, making four in all. In battle the legion was drawn up as a phalanx in the Greek manner; the men were arranged in very compact fashion with their pikes in front, forming a solid

mass. The main object was to thrust back the opposing phalanx.

The Romans arranged themselves in six ranks, so their phalanx was six men in depth, the width depending on the number of men in the legion. All the legionaries were armed alike with pike and sword, but they had not the same defensive armor. The men who had the best armor were placed in front, and those who were less well armed assigned to the rear ranks.

The reform of Servius Tullius divided the foot-soldiers into five classes, according to their wealth. The first class had a complete outfit: a full suit of armor, a helmet, and a great shield. The second class carried no shields, the third neither helmet nor greaves. The fourth and fifth classes fought outside the legion as *velites*.

The proletarians were not called on for service; they had not the honor of belonging to the Roman army.

This organization was altered during the Gallic and Samnite wars, but just at what time or by whom not even the Romans could say (some said by Camillus). We have no real acquaintance with the Roman army prior to the end of the second century, when Polybius, a Greek historian, wrote a description of it.

Enrollment.—Paupers were still excluded from the army, but class distinction was done away with. The state paid a wage and furnished the arms, making soldiers independent of their private means. Every citizen belonging to one of the classes owed military service to the state.

He must serve through twenty campaigns as foot-soldier or ten as horseman. Until this term was completed he was at the disposal of the general, who had the right to enroll him between the ages of seventeen and forty-six.

When soldiers were needed the consul summoned to the Capitol all citizens of eligible age. The superior officers, of which each legion had six (military tribunes, elected by the people), stood near the consul. From each tribe was

chosen a man for each legion; in this way each of the thirty-five tribes provided the same number, and the process was repeated until the legions were filled. There were also many volunteers; but the tribunes had the right to choose any one they pleased, and every citizen must answer to his name.

After this operation, known as the *dilectus* (choosing), all took the oath, the officers leading. Then a soldier, chosen from among the bravest, pronounced the sacred formula: "I swear to follow the general and obey his orders"; and declared that, should he fail to keep his promise, the wrath of the gods might descend upon him. Each soldier then repeated: "The same for me." Thus all were bound to their general by religious ties, and none could leave the army unless discharged.

The Legions.—The legion varied from forty-two hundred to six thousand men. It was at first accompanied by a small troop of cavalry composed of wealthy young men; later the generals adopted the custom of keeping the young men as guards near their own persons, and the Roman cavalry went out of existence.

The smallest Roman army could not be less than one legion. A consul had always at least two legions.

Allies.—The legions formed a bare half of the Roman army, for Rome, in subjugating the neighboring peoples, had compelled them to put their troops at her service. These were the allies (*socii*). They formed separate corps under their own standards; the allied people supplied the requisite number of men, paid them their wages, and appointed the lower officers. All were, however, subject to the Roman general; he selected the place where these troops should present themselves, and placed Roman citizens at their head. There were always at least as many allies as there were legionaries in a Roman army, and usually more. The horsemen were almost all from the allies.

After the third century, Rome hired soldiers from outside

of Italy; these were called auxiliaries (*auxilia*), and had their own arms and companies. They were chiefly horsemen (Gauls, Numidians, and Moors), archers, and slingers.

Armament and Order of Battle.—The Roman army was an army of foot-soldiers. They were of two classes:

The *velites* were lightly armed, protected only by a leather helmet and a small round shield, and carrying a sword and javelins to be thrown from a distance. They fought apart from the legion, either in front or on the sides.

The *legionaries* were the regular soldiers. Every man was fully armed: a sleeveless cuirass (*lorica*) which covered the body as far as the thigh, a steel helmet (*galea*), and a shield (*scutum*) of wood and leather, bound with iron.

In battle the legion no longer fought in a solid mass, but divided in three lines, with a wide space between. The soldiers of the first (*hastati*) and second (*principes*) lines carried a sword¹ and a heavy *pilum*; the *pilum* is a heavy javelin with an iron point and a wooden handle, the whole over six feet in length. Those of the third line (*triarii*) bore a sword and a pike (*hasta*).

The three lines were each divided into ten companies, called *maniples*, because each had a bunch of hay (*manipulum*) on its standard as a distinguishing mark. On the battle-field these maniples were arranged in groups six men deep, the distance between the maniples being at least as great as the width of their front. The maniples of the second line formed groups of the same size and took their position just behind the gaps left by the first line. The third line did likewise, so that the thirty maniples of the legion formed a quincunx.

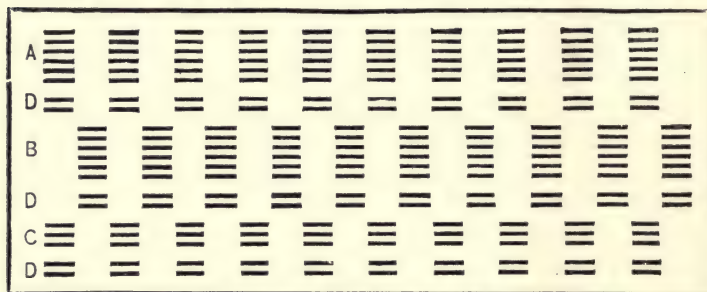
The maniples of the first line opened the battle. The soldiers threw their javelins, then marched on the enemy and fought with the sword. Should they be repulsed they

¹During the Punic wars the Romans adopted the short, pointed Spanish sword (two feet in length) which they carried at the right side, suspended from a belt. On the left they carried a dagger.

dropped back into the spaces left in the second line, and the second line marched forward to the attack. If they too failed, they fell back into the third line, and the third line, a reserve of picked men armed with pikes, made the decisive effort of the battle.

The allies fought on both sides of the legions, forming the wings.

This mode of battle gave the Romans the advantage of being able to keep account of their losses; instead of an



LEGION IN ORDER OF BATTLE.

A,	Ten maniples of	<i>hastati</i> ,	20 men in front by 6 deep.
B	"	"	<i>principes</i> " " " " 6 "
C	"	"	<i>triarii</i> " " " " 3 "
D	"	"	<i>velites</i> " " " " 2 "

unwieldy mass their army was made up of movable squadrons ready to march quickly to any part of the field where they might be needed.

The horsemen wore complete armor and carried a long spear and a long sword; but as they rode stirrupless on very small horses they were not sufficiently firm to charge in a group; each therefore fought independently or among the *velites*. Roman victories were not often due to the cavalry.

Order of March.—During a campaign, the army usually marched in a column in the following order:

I. At the head, the picked soldiers chosen from among the allies.

II. The allies belonging to one of the two wings.

III. A legion, followed by its equipment.

IV. Another legion, followed by its equipment.

V. The other wing of allies.

The two legions and the two wings changed places daily.

If there was danger of an attack, they marched in a square; the camp outfits were put in the middle with one legion in front and the other behind, and a wing on either side.

The soldier carried his arms and his bowl, an axe, a saw, a stake, and seventeen days' rations; this was a heavy load—sixty Roman pounds.

The pack-animals carried the tents, one for every ten men. The army, not being encumbered by chariots, moved more rapidly than the other armies of ancient times.

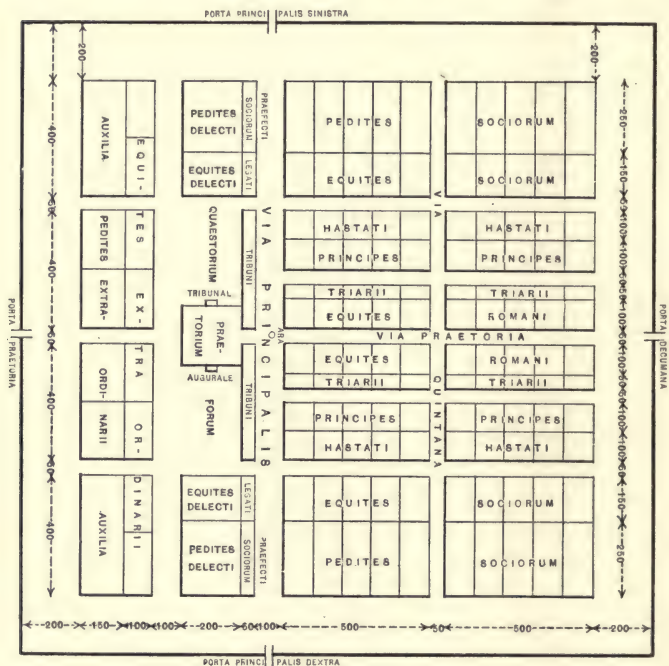
The Camp.—When the Roman army came to a halt, it did not expose itself to a surprise by an enemy; the soldiers built an improvised fortress, the camp (*castra*¹).

They worked in accordance with rules fixed by religion. A priest first drew two straight lines intersecting each other at right angles. At the point of intersection they set up a pole with a white flag; this was where the general's tent was to be, the *prætorium*, the centre of the camp. In an open space about it were to be the sacrificial altar, military court, military chest, business office, and the market-place (Forum) where the general called his men together.

Then an officer traced the outside line of the camp in the form of a square. The soldiers, as soon as they came to the spot, fell to work without a pause. They took out their spades and on the four sides of the square they dug a broad deep trench, throwing the earth inwards so as to form a bank (*agger*). At the top of this bank they drove a line of pickets and fastened them together. The camp was now surrounded by a picket fence on top of a rampart and guarded by a trench. At the middle of each side there was a gate.

¹ *Castra* signifies fortified enclosure.

The enclosed space was divided in two halves by a passage one hundred feet wide (the *via principalis*). The half containing the general's tent was the one towards the enemy; on the same side were the tents of the higher officers, the picked soldiers, and the auxiliaries. The other half was



ENCAMPMENT.

occupied by the two Roman legions and the two wings of the allies, separated by a passage. The tents were placed in straight lines, two by two and back to back, each opening on one of the alleys crossing the main passage at right angles. Each tent sheltered ten men.

Each soldier had always the same relative position in the camp. He therefore knew in advance exactly where he was

to place his tent and might place it there without waiting for orders. It was as if the army carried its barracks with it.

Between the tents and the rampart they left a space of fifty yards; and here they placed the horses and pack-animals.

Outside of the entrenchment and near to each gate they posted sentinels on guard, taken from among the *velites*. The night was divided into watches; the end of each watch was announced by sounding a trumpet; sentinels were then changed. Horsemen went around from post to post to see that the sentinels did not sleep.

Pay and Booty.—The soldier received wages, and for rations wheat and barley (about a bushel a month). To this he added whatever he could pick up on the way. The Romans, like other nations of antiquity, made a practice of plundering the enemy's country, carrying off the cattle and even the inhabitants. Whatever was found on the field of battle, in the camp of a conquered enemy, or in a town taken by assault, belonged to the conquerors. This was the customary practice of the period. But the Romans went at it in a systematic way, and organized parties of soldiers whose work it was to plunder and to bring everything they found to the camp. Thus all booty was public property: arms, soldiers' baggage, money, utensils, cattle, and even the enemies themselves, their wives and children. Money and metals were set aside; everything else was sold to the highest bidder. Men, women, and children were sold as slaves. The product of the sale belonged to the Roman people, and had to be turned into the public treasury. The general, however, retained a part to make offering to the gods and to distribute as rewards to the officers and soldiers. A war against a rich people would fill the Roman treasury and sometimes even make rich men of the soldiers who shared in the booty.

Discipline.—The Roman army was subject to a more

severe discipline than any other army of antiquity. From the moment of leaving Rome the soldiers owed absolute obedience to their general. The general had over all the absolute command or "power of life and death," the so-called *imperium*.

The sentinel who slept at his station, the soldier who deserted his post in battle, or disobeyed the order of the general, was punished with death. There were two ways of executing the condemned. Either a lictor tied him to a stake, scourged him with rods, and cut off his head with his axe; or he was compelled to pass between two ranks of soldiers who beat him to death. When a whole company was condemned, for example for mutiny, as they could not all be put to death, the general divided the guilty men into groups of ten each; in each group lots were drawn and the unlucky one was put to death. This was the process of decimating (*decimus*, the tenth).

The Roman army punished even the soldier who escaped from a rout or was taken prisoner by the enemy. When Pyrrhus restored the Roman soldiers he had taken captive the senate ordered them degraded and forbade them to pitch their tents within the camp walls.¹

Many legends are told of the severity of the generals of antiquity.

In the war against the Latins, the consul Manlius had forbidden the soldiers to fight outside of the ranks. A horseman from Tusculum came to challenge the Romans. The son of Manlius accepted the challenge, killed the horseman and took his arms, returning to his father filled with joy. The consul sounded the trumpet to call the army together; he then had his son bound to the stake and executed for disobedience.

In the Samnite war, the dictator Papirius, being obliged to leave his army and return to Rome, had left Fabius, the master of the horse, to command, forbidding him to fight in his absence: the omens were bad; the sacred chickens had refused to eat. Nevertheless Fabius, finding a good opportunity, attacked and defeated the enemy. Papirius immediately rejoined

¹ See on page III another example of severity during the second Punic war.

his army, had Fabius brought before him and condemned him to death. The whole army murmured against this action; Fabius escaped to Rome and convoked the senate. Papirius followed him and ordered him seized. The senate and the people entreated him so earnestly that he decided to pardon Fabius, but he dismissed him from office for having won a battle contrary to orders.

Military Exercises.—The Romans were in the habit of practising the arts of war even in time of peace. Those who lived at Rome used the Campus Martius for their manœuvres. The young men came there for their exercise—running, leaping, throwing the javelin, and swordsmanship; then, covered with sweat and dust, they jumped into the Tiber and swam across it.

In the field it was the rule to drill once a day. The men also practised military marches with arms and equipment, and manœuvres accustoming them to take and to change position on the battle-field. The soldiers learned the use of pick and spade in the construction of camps, and were often employed in building roads, bridges, and aqueducts.

Triumph.—The greatest honor for a victorious Roman general was to be authorized by the senate to celebrate a triumph, that is, to march in a military procession to the temple on the Capitol.

The general waited with his army at the gates of Rome, being forbidden by religion to enter the city armed. The senate investigated his claims to a triumph; the ordinary demand was a great victory in which at least five thousand of the enemy had perished. When permission was granted, the procession was drawn up as follows:

At the head marched the magistrates and the senators; then came the wagons loaded with booty, and the captives in chains. The procession lasted sometimes more than a day. Next came the triumphal chariot, in the form of a gilded tower, drawn by four horses. In this chariot sat the victorious general on an ivory throne, wearing a purple toga embroidered in gold, bracelets on his arms, a crown of laurel

on his head, and his face painted red (as it was customary to represent the gods). Behind his chariot came the soldiers, with laurel branches in their hands and singing a hymn, *Io Triomphe!*

The procession crossed the city, passing through the Forum, and mounted the Capitoline hill. There the general laid his crown on the knees of the statue of Jupiter and thanked him for granting him the victory. Meanwhile the prisoners who had just appeared in the procession were strangled in the underground prison of the Capitol.

Colonies.—In the countries which Rome had subjugated, and which needed still to be watched, the senate was accustomed to establish permanent garrisons of Roman soldier farmers. These were called colonies.

The colonists came in a body with their standard. Their leader went through the foundation ceremony described on page 15; with a plough drawn by a bull and a heifer he traced the sacred furrow around the site of the colony. Surveyors then laid out the territory in rectangular sections, one of which was given to each colonist.

The colonists remained citizens of Rome; they still owed military service and had the right to vote in the assemblies at Rome. Colonies which retained their full rights of Roman citizenship were called Roman colonies. They were situated for the most part on the coast.

But there was another class called Latin colonies. The Roman citizens who formed these had accepted as colonists the Latin rights, instead of the Roman. They were self-governing, but had no longer the right to vote at Rome. Such colonies were to be found along the great military roads.

Military Roads.—The Romans needed good roads for the long marches their armies had to make. They built causeways of stone and cement (they said in Latin “build a road”); they also built arched bridges.

From the city of Rome great military roads led in all the

principal directions. Usually they formed a straight line; even in the mountain districts they held their course, instead of winding to diminish the steepness.

The Appian Way was the most frequented of these roads; it led across the Pontine Marshes into Campania.

SOURCES.

Polybius..... Bk. vi, §§ 19-42.

Velieius Paterculus.... Bk. i, §§ 14, 15.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy... .. c. xviii, § 3.

Mommsen Bk. II, c. viii.

How and Leigh c. xvii, pp. 135-142.

Morey..... c. xiii, pp. 94-97.

Shuckburgh..... c. xvi, pp. 214-218.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

Carthage.—Since the fifth century Carthage had been the greatest power on the Mediterranean. Founded by colonists from Tyre, Carthage had become the richest of the Phœnician colonies. It had a fine harbor for commerce and a good harbor for war, at the northern extremity of Africa, in a country which yielded excellent harvests of wheat, and was within easy reach of Sicily, one of the richest countries of antiquity.

Tyre, exhausted by wars, could no longer defend her colonies against the Greeks in Sicily. The Carthaginians, however, offered them protection and established themselves thus for the first time in the western part of Sicily. Then they conquered the coast of Sardinia, and made alliance with all the Phœnician towns on the African coast as far as the ocean, finally establishing themselves on the south coast of Spain. In the sixth century they had made alliance with the Etruscans, thereby gaining the commerce of northern Italy.

The Carthaginians retained their Phœnician language, customs, and religion. They called their god Baal and their goddess Tanith, and they worshipped after the manner of the Phœnicians. A bronze giant with the arms extended downward represented Baal Moloch; human victims were placed in his hands and immediately slipped down into a glowing furnace inside the giant. Sometimes, on occasion

of great danger, the leading citizens of Carthage sacrificed their own children to appease Baal.

The Carthaginians supported themselves chiefly by commerce. They went to Phœnicia for cargoes of Oriental products, to Spain and Sardinia for silver from the mines. They sold oil and wheat from their own estates in Africa, and jewels, arms, and idols made by their workmen. In order to monopolize the benefits of commerce, they forbade the other African cities to receive a foreign ship into their harbors.

Carthage was governed by two chiefs (*suffetes*) appointed for one year, and by the senate, a council of one hundred members, comprising the richest merchants of the city. The rest of the people had no power; the senate, like that at Rome, was the real master, and governed in the interest of the merchants.

The Carthaginian Army.—The Carthaginians did not fight their own battles; they hired foreign soldiers. The following legend explains this custom.

The Carthaginian army was formerly composed of the citizens of Carthage. It was defeated in Sicily, and the general was exiled. He returned, however, at the head of his troops, stormed the city and put to death ten members of the senate. Later he was himself executed. Mago, who was charged with the formation of a new army, decided to admit no more citizens, and filled the ranks with foreign soldiers.

A Carthaginian army was an assemblage of bands of different peoples, commonly barbarians; each kept to their own language and national dress, and fought with their own arms. The African Libyans, a race of black men, were armed with pikes. The Numidians rode without saddles on small but fleet horses; they were clad in the skin of a lion, which served also as a bed, and they carried lances and bows. They shot their arrows while in full gallop, charged at the enemy, and then withdrew to charge again.

The Iberians of Spain, clad in red and white, were armed with a pointed sword. The Gauls, naked to the waist, pro-

tected themselves with a broad shield and fought with a great sword which they wielded with both hands. The Ligurians served as archers.

The people of the Balearic Isles had slings, with which they threw pebbles or balls of lead; the sling was their national weapon. From infancy they practised the use of it; the child's bread was hung up outside the door and he must shoot it down with his sling or go hungry.

All these foreigners served only for the pay. The general and all the officers were Carthaginians. The government at Carthage distrusted them and sent senators with them always to keep watch on them, and when they met with defeat, condemned them to crucifixion.

The Romans in Sicily.—Carthage and Rome had always lived in peace, having even concluded several treaties of friendship; the Carthaginians promised not to attack the coasts of Latium, the Romans not to navigate the African coast. During the war with Pyrrhus, Carthage sent a fleet to the aid of the Romans.

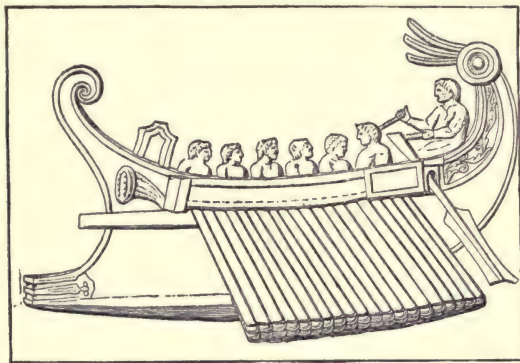
The two peoples disagreed in regard to Sicily. Carthage had succeeded in conquering the whole of Sicily except the eastern coast, where a Greek colony, Syracuse, had hitherto resisted her. A Greek general, Hiero, had become king of Syracuse, ruling over a kingdom which covered the whole southeastern part of the island.

At the northeastern point of the island, on the strait which separates Sicily from Italy, a band of Italian soldiers in the employ of the Greeks of Messina had massacred the inhabitants and established themselves in Messina under the name of Mamertines (people of Mars). Hiero marched against them. The Mamertines sought allies, but could not agree together on the subject; some asked help of Carthage and introduced a Carthaginian garrison into the citadel; others sent to Rome. The senate hesitated, but the assembly of the people decided in favor of war (264 B.C.).

The Mamertines made alliance with Rome. Carthage joined

Hiero, and their united armies besieged the Mamertines in Messina. A Roman army, entering Sicily, suddenly attacked Hiero's army and scattered it, invaded his kingdom, and camped before Syracuse. Hiero sued for peace, and Rome restored his kingdom on payment of two hundred talents and the promise of alliance with Rome (263 B.C.).

The Roman army, having conquered the eastern part of Sicily, marched westward, and besieged Agrigentum; the city was in ruins, but behind the walls was sheltered a Carthaginian army; the Romans instituted a blockade and cut off all supplies. A second Carthaginian army then landed on the island with sixty elephants. After a great battle it was put to rout, but while the Romans were in pursuit, the beleaguered army took advantage of a dark night to escape from Agrigentum. The inhabitants of Agrigentum, left alone, asked permission to surrender, but the Romans refused, broke open the gates, pillaged the city, and sold the inhabitants into slavery (262 B.C.).



A TRIREME.

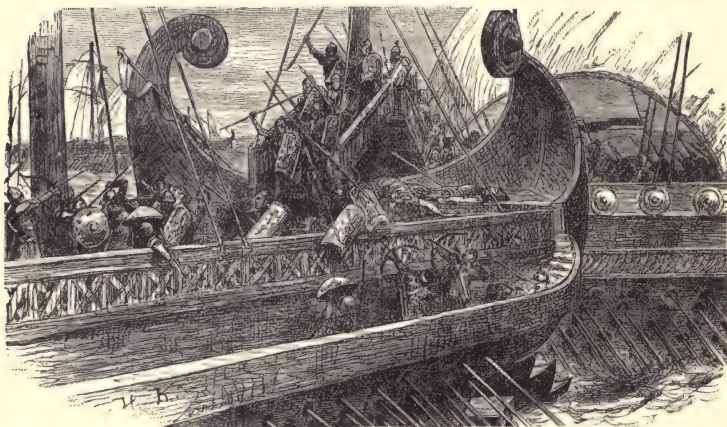
Naval Victory of the Romans.—Rome had no war-vessels, having used the ships of her allies, the Greeks of Italy. Carthage was mistress of the sea and sent a fleet to ravage the coasts of Italy.

We are told that at the beginning of the war the government at Carthage had said : " Without our permission Rome cannot even wash her hands in the sea."

The senate at Rome issued orders to build a fleet of war-vessels. The ships of this period were long and narrow¹ and propelled by oars; speed could be secured only by a great number of rowers. A ship the size of a modern gunboat, carrying a crew of thirty or forty men, required more than two hundred rowers; a ship of five hundred tons needed almost four hundred.

The Romans had only ships with two or three banks of oars,—too small to cope with the Carthaginian ships, which had five banks (*quinqueremes*) and were much higher. They therefore decided to build quinqueremes. It is said that they used as a model a Carthaginian ship which had been wrecked on the shore of Bruttium. In two months they had built one hundred and thirty ships.

Their rowers, who were not accustomed to propelling such



ROMAN SOLDIERS USING THE "CROW" IN BOARDING. (CONJECTURAL)

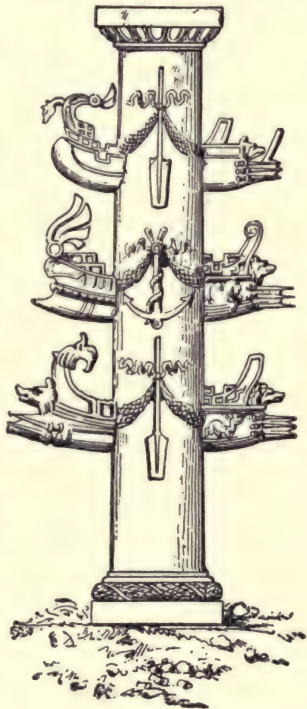
large ships, had been practising on shore while the ships were being built. Mounted on scaffoldings they learned to

¹ Eight times as long as they were wide.

manipulate their oars in the air, meanwhile continuing to practise on the ships anchored in the harbors.

These vessels, hastily constructed of green wood and manned by inexperienced sailors, could not be easily handled. A small squadron was sent to the Lipariæ Isles; on the arrival of some Carthaginian ships the rowers rushed ashore and the squadron was taken. The consul Duilius then conceived the idea of making the Carthaginian sailors helpless by preventing their manœuvring. On each Roman ship was placed a machine called a "crow." This was a platform about thirty-six feet long and four feet wide, hinged loosely at its inner end to the foot of a short mast and swung and lowered in any desired direction by a tackle leading from the top of the mast. The outer end of the affair was armed with a huge spike or grappling-iron which pierced and stuck fast in the enemy's bulwark or deck when it was let fall upon it. The Roman soldiers were thus able to rush aboard the enemy's ship and the naval combat became much the same as a land combat, being decided rather by soldiers than by sailors.

Thus equipped, the Roman fleet sailed to Mylæ. The Carthaginians came out to meet them, and their ships one by one were grappled by the Roman ships. The two combatants fought hand to hand. The Romans were victorious and took thirty of the enemy's ships (260 B.C.).



THE COLUMN OF DUILIUS.

In Rome a bronze column was erected in the Forum in memory of this victory. Duilius, the conqueror, was given the right to be escorted in the evening by torch-bearers and a flute-player. The Roman army proceeded to take the Sicilian cities; a Roman fleet took Corsica from the Carthaginians.

Expedition of Regulus into Africa.—The Romans now prepared to attack the city of Carthage itself. The expedition is said to have included three hundred and thirty quinquereme galleys, each manned by three hundred rowers; the fleet carried, in addition, forty thousand soldiers. Carthage had, it is said, three hundred and fifty galleys and fifty thousand soldiers (256 B.C.).

The two fleets met off the promontory of Ecnomus. The Carthaginians were defeated and retired. The Roman fleet, finding the way open, landed its army on the African shore, in a fertile country covered with gardens and mansions. The army ravaged the country, and carried off the cattle and the inhabitants.

When the winter came the fleet returned to Italy with a part of the army. The consul Regulus remained in Africa with the greater part of the army, taking the towns one by one. The native Africans who had been subjugated by Carthage against their will, began to join Rome. Carthage was crowded with people driven from the surrounding country by the Romans. The Carthaginians became alarmed and sued for peace. Regulus refused and laid siege to Carthage.

Then a Spartan general named Xanthippus came to offer his services to the Carthaginians, filling them with renewed confidence. He trained the soldiers to fight in a phalanx like the Macedonians, and showed them how to make use of elephants. He then led forth his army and drew it up in line of battle: in the centre, fourteen thousand infantry; on the wings, four thousand cavalry; in front of the infantry, one hundred elephants. The Romans are said to have had

thirty thousand men; they attacked the infantry, but were put to rout by the elephants and the cavalry, and all were slain. Regulus was taken prisoner (255 B.C.).

The Roman garrison which had remained in Clupea was besieged; a Roman fleet had to be sent to deliver it and carry it away. The Romans evacuated Africa. On their return their fleet was destroyed by a storm. The Carthaginians punished the natives for their desertion by hanging their chiefs and making them pay a heavy fine.

Naval Battles.—Both sides now prepared new expeditions to conquer Sicily. In three months Rome had gathered together a fleet of two hundred and twenty ships, and succeeded in taking Panormus, the most important Carthaginian port (254 B.C.). Another fleet ravaged the coast of Africa; on its return it was destroyed in a storm (253 B.C.).

The Roman army, besieged in Panormus, made a sudden sally and, taking the Carthaginians by surprise, drove them to the water's edge and slew them (250 B.C.). Metellus, the victorious general, returned to Rome with one hundred and four elephants to take part in his triumph; afterwards they were taken to the circus and slaughtered to amuse the people.

Little by little the Carthaginians had been driven into the northwest corner of Sicily. Regulus was still a prisoner when Carthage sent him to Rome to ask for peace or an exchange of prisoners; Rome refused. This embassy gave rise to the legend of Regulus.

Regulus, it was said, himself advised the senate to refuse the exchange of prisoners; he thus sacrificed his life in the interest of his country. On his departure from Carthage he took an oath to return to his captivity if unsuccessful in his mission. He came back. The Carthaginians were infuriated by the failure of their envoy, and took a cruel revenge; they cut off his eyelids, then put him in a cask lined with spikes and rolled him down a hill. His family, to avenge this cruelty, were allowed to torture to death two Carthaginian generals who had been taken prisoner.

Rome sent an army to besiege Lilybæum, but the siege



BIREME (RELIEF AT PRÆNESTE).

failed. The following year, a new fleet came with the consul P. Claudius, who planned to surprise the Carthaginian ships in the harbor of Drepana. But the Carthaginians, aware of his scheme, left the harbor just before he entered it, and then turned the surprise upon the Romans. Their ships, in haste to escape from the harbor, were jammed together. In this disorder the Carthaginians attacked them and drove them ashore, where they were either sunk or taken (249 B.C.).

The Romans regarded this defeat at Drepana as a punishment from the gods.

Claudius, according to custom, had brought along the cage containing the sacred chickens. Before the attack began he was notified that the sacred chickens refused to eat; this was a sign that the gods did not approve of the combat. Claudius answered: "Very well; if they will not eat, let them drink," and had the chickens thrown into the sea.

Another Roman fleet was surprised by the Carthaginian fleet off the southern coast of Sicily and ran aground. A storm arose and the ships were shattered. Junius, who commanded the fleet, was accused, on his return to Rome, of having, like Claudius, ignored the warnings of the auguries; he committed suicide.

Hamilcar in Sicily.—Carthage then placed (247 B.C.) her army in Sicily under command of an able general named Hamilcar, surnamed Barca (thunder). He found the soldiers in revolt, subdued them, and led them off to pillage the southern part of Italy. He then established himself in the northwestern extremity of Sicily, on a very steep mountain called Eryx, and fortified himself there (244 B.C.). The only approach on the land side was by two steep paths; on the water side there was a bay in which ships could anchor. The defenders received their provisions by sea from Drepana. Entrenched in this natural citadel Hamilcar for three years threatened the Roman armies encamped before the two ports remaining to the Carthaginians, Lilybæum and Drepana.

Rome at length equipped another fleet of two hundred

quinqueremes and sent it to blockade the two ports by sea. A battle took place off the Ægatian Islands, in which the Carthaginian fleet was scattered (241 B.C.).

Carthage had now exhausted her resources and commissioned Hamilcar to make peace. The Carthaginians promised to withdraw from Sicily and to pay three thousand two hundred talents (nearly \$4,000,000) within ten years (241 B.C.).

The first Punic war had given Sicily to Rome. It became the first Roman province.

The Truceless War.—At the close of her first great struggle with Rome Carthage found a further difficulty staring her in the face. The composite and mercenary character of her army has already been shown. This host of hirelings she found herself unable to pay. They soon revolted and attacked their masters, and Carthage with scarce any citizen soldiers was hard put to it to defend herself from her own servants. The war between the insurgent troops and the native forces was characterized by such bitterness and cruelty on both sides that it received the name of “The Truceless War.” After four years it resulted in the practical extermination of the revolted mercenaries.

Sardinia and Corsica.—Rome had taken advantage of the struggle in Sardinia to interfere while Carthage seemed helpless, and when Carthage protested, declared war once more upon her, and settled the dispute only by forcing from her rival a further tribute of twelve hundred talents (\$1,500,000), and the cession of Sardinia and Corsica (239 B.C.).

Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul.—The Gauls still occupied all the region of the Po between the Apennines and the Alps, called by the Romans Cisalpine Gaul (this side of the Alps). Rome had decided to establish colonies south of the Po, and the consul made a distribution of lands taken from the Boii, the Gallic people nearest to Roman Italy. The Boii were indignant and made alliance with the Insubres,

whose capital was Mediolanum (Milan); they also took into their service Gallic soldiers from the other side of the Alps, the Gesates, and all together invaded Italy (225 B.C.).

Rome sent out two armies, one eastward to the Adriatic, the other westward into Etruria. The Gauls overcame the first and advanced as far as Clusium; before the second, however, they were obliged to retreat.

While they were retreating along the coast of Etruria, they found themselves caught between the pursuing army and another Roman force which was returning from Corsica and had landed by chance at that very juncture at Pisa. The Gauls divided into two bodies, and, forming a double front, fought the two armies at once near Cape Telamon. The Gauls led the attack with their fearful war-cry. The Gesates, tall men with blue eyes and red hair, won honor by exposing themselves to danger; they discarded their shields and fought naked. The Gauls were marvellously brave, but their swords were unpointed and of inferior quality, wounding only by cutting, not by thrusting, and so heavy that they required the use of both hands; swords so poor that they bent in striking. While the Gaul placed his sword under his foot to straighten it he was defenceless, and exposed to the blows of the enemy.

The victorious Romans repulsed the Gauls and then attacked them in their own country. They subdued first the Boii (224 B.C.), then—not, however, without great difficulty—the Insubres (223–222 B.C.). They finally seized the capital and made the Gauls give hostages.

In order to keep their hold on the Gauls, Rome established among them three great colonies, Mutina, Placentia, and Cremona (218 B.C.).

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CHAPTER IX.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Hannibal.—After subduing the rebels Hamilcar had been sent to take command of the Carthaginian forces in Spain (237 B.C.). This army was composed of mercenaries, most of them Iberians, a brave and warlike Spanish people. Hamilcar remained there nine years, and won the devotion of his soldiers.

When he died (229 B.C.), his soldiers, without waiting for orders from Carthage, chose for their general his son-in-law, Hasdrubal; the home government approved their choice and Hasdrubal became commander of the Spanish army. He concluded alliances with the native peoples, and founded on the seacoast the city of Carthage (New Carthage), which became the centre of the Carthaginian government in Spain.

Hasdrubal was succeeded by Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar (221 B.C.), then a young man. Reared among soldiers, and knowing no fatherland but his army, Hannibal's mind was filled with thoughts of war. He led the life of a soldier, eating sparingly, sleeping in his tent, and speaking familiarly with his soldiers. Like his father, Hannibal detested Rome. In his old age he explained to King Antiochus the origin of his hatred. "When my father set sail for Spain with his army," he said, "I was only nine years old; the day he made the sacrifice I stood near the altar. After the ceremony, Hamilcar ordered his servants to withdraw, called me to his side and, caressing me, asked if I would not like to follow him to Spain. Eagerly I begged him to take me with

him. Taking me by the hand, he led me to the altar and, standing over the bodies of the victims, he said: 'Swear by these victims that you will always be an enemy to Rome.'"

Capture of Saguntum.—Hannibal began by taking a number of towns and appropriating their money; he paid his soldiers well and promised them bounties. He lived among them, denying himself every luxury, and quickly won their esteem. He subdued the whole country as far as the Ebro. Thither Roman envoys came to warn him not to advance further, for Hasdrubal, by a treaty with Rome, had promised not to pass the Ebro. They also forbade him to attack the people of Saguntum (a town on his side of the river), who, they said, were allies of Rome. Hannibal declared that he had the right to deal with Saguntum as he pleased, and the envoys proceeded to Carthage.

Hannibal encamped before Saguntum; this was a rich city, lying in a fertile plain near the sea, and inhabited by a warlike people, who were skilled in the art of defence. The siege lasted eight months, at the end of which time the city was finally taken by assault. The booty was large. Hannibal despatched the movables to Carthage, gave the inhabitants to his soldiers to sell as slaves, and kept the money for the use of his army (219 B.C.).

On hearing of the siege of Saguntum, Rome had sent two senators to Carthage to demand reparation. The envoys were received in the senate chamber at Carthage; they demanded that Hannibal should be delivered to the Romans for punishment for violation of the treaty. The Carthaginians replied that at the time the treaty was made Saguntum was not yet an ally of Rome. Then one of the two Roman envoys, holding up a fold of his toga, said: "I bring you here in this fold peace and war. Choose which you will." "Give us which you will," was the answer. "Then take war."

This was the beginning of the second Punic war (218 B.C.).

Hannibal in Gaul.—Rome gathered together two armies,

one in Sicily to invade Africa, the other in Italy to attack Spain. Hannibal, however, did not give them time to attack.

He sent to Africa for Libyan foot-soldiers and Numidian horsemen, and, leaving his brother Hasdrubal with a fleet and a small army to defend the country south of the Ebro, he left Carthagera in the spring (218 B.C.), crossed the Ebro and marched rapidly to the Pyrenees, defeating the peoples that tried to oppose his progress. From the Pyrenees he sent back a part of his Spanish soldiers, left his equipment under guard of a small force with Hanno in command, and crossed the mountains. He had with him fifty thousand African and Iberian foot-soldiers, five thousand horsemen, and twenty-one elephants.

Entering Gaul, he marched rapidly toward the Rhone. A barbarian army encamped on the left bank of the river attempted to check his advance. Hannibal halted on the right bank, bought boats and lumber and constructed rafts. He sent a detachment by night some miles up the river, to cross on the rafts and conceal themselves near the camp of the barbarians.

The next day the bulk of the army crossed the river in boats, the horses, held by the bridle, swimming alongside. The barbarians issued from the camp and prepared to fight. At this moment the Carthaginian detachment which was concealed on the left bank came out, set fire to the camp, attacked the barbarians in the rear, and put them to flight. Hannibal's army crossed the Rhone and camped on the left bank.

The elephants crossed the river with difficulty. Great rafts had been built and covered with earth and grass, so that the elephants could not distinguish them from the solid ground. On these rafts the elephants were then towed to the opposite shore. The elephants were at first frightened by the washing about their feet; some of them even fell off into the river and crossed with only their trunks above water.

The Roman general, Publius Scipio, who had been sent to meet Hannibal in Gaul, had followed the coast. Learning, on his arrival at the Rhone, that Hannibal had already escaped him, he returned into Italy.

While Hannibal was advancing towards Italy, the Romans were busy fighting the Cisalpine Gauls; the Boii and Insubres had renewed hostilities and defeated a Roman army. Hannibal planned that they should all march together upon Rome. A Gallic chief from the Po valley addressed the soldiers, and described Cisalpine Gaul as a rich country, inhabited by warlike peoples, all ready to join the Carthaginians.

Hannibal Crosses the Alps.—Hannibal led his army up the Rhone, then, turning eastward towards the Alps, marched for eight days over steep mountain paths. The mountaineers attacked them a number of times; once they blocked the way, but withdrew when night came on. Hannibal seized the chance to send his best soldiers to take the position; the rest of the army followed. The mountaineers attacked the rear-guard, which was encumbered by the horses; Hannibal was obliged to return to their relief. On the ninth day the army reached the summit and rested for two days. They were joined there by the stragglers and many horses that had strayed or fallen from the path and were given up for lost.

They now had to descend the Italian slope, by far the more difficult side, by a narrow path, along high precipices. The autumn was nearly at an end, and the new-fallen snow impeded their progress. The soldiers slipped, and in falling pushed against their comrades and threw them over the precipices; the horses lost their footing and fell. The army came to a defile so narrow and steep that the elephants could not proceed; at one point the snow and ice were so deep that the horses could not pass. Hannibal made his army camp while he had the snow cleared away and a road cut in the rock. The pack-animals crossed first, then, after

the Numidians had worked three days more at widening the path, the elephants passed safely over.

It was told long after that Hannibal softened the rock by heating it with great fires and then pouring on vinegar.

Late in October, five and a half months after leaving Carthagera, Hannibal reached the land of the Insubres in the valley of the Po. He had left only twelve thousand Africans, eight thousand Spaniards, and six thousand horsemen, both men and horses worn with travel, and the troops looking more like savages than soldiers.

The Cisalpine Gauls furnished them with supplies, clothing, and arms. The army reorganized and began its march southward.

Hannibal's Victories in Cisalpine Gaul (218 B.C.).—Publius Scipio had led his army back from Gaul and camped on the bank of the Ticinus, a broad river. The horsemen and velites,¹ who had been sent on ahead, suddenly encountered Hannibal's cavalry. The velites let fly their javelins, then fled in fear; the Roman cavalry dismounted and fought on foot. The Numidian cavalry attacked them from the rear and put them to rout. This was the battle of the Ticinus.

Scipio, who had himself been wounded, withdrew with his army across the Po and destroyed the bridge, leaving five hundred of his soldiers on the other side. Hannibal made them prisoners, crossed the Po on a bridge of boats, and marched eastward.

Scipio meanwhile nursed his wound in a fortified camp near Placentia, unwilling to risk another battle. His Gallic contingent (two thousand infantry, twelve hundred cavalry), however, left the camp, and, surprising the Roman soldiers in the open, killed them and carried their heads to Hannibal. The Boii, one of the Gallic peoples, then decided to join the Carthaginians.

¹ Light-armed foot-soldiers. See p. 77.

Scipio, disturbed by the idea of being in a hostile country, broke camp, crossed the Trebia, and camped on a hill to await the coming of the second Roman army, which was now crossing Italy on its return from Sicily. Hannibal followed and camped six miles away.

The second Roman army arrived. Sempronius, the consul in command, favored an immediate attack, but Scipio advised him to wait. Sempronius, however, insisted; the year was drawing to a close, and the consul's term nearly over. If they should wait, the honor of defeating Hannibal would fall to the new consuls. Scipio yielded to this argument and gave orders for the battle.

Between the two camps lay a smooth plain, cut by the bed of a river whose banks were covered with brambles; in this depression Hannibal concealed a thousand picked foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen. The following day, the Numidian horse galloped across the plain up to the Roman camp. Sempronius sent his cavalry against them, then his archers; finally he came forth with his whole army. Snow had fallen and the day was cold; the Romans had had nothing to eat; they waded up to their armpits in the icy current of the Trebia. Hannibal's men had just eaten, rubbed themselves with oil and rested before their fires. They moved forward, led by the archers and the Balearic slingers (eight thousand men); in the rear, the twenty thousand foot-soldiers in line; on the wings, the ten thousand horsemen and the elephants.

The battle was soon over. The Romans, wet, tired, and hungry, and half disarmed, having thrown all their javelins against the Numidians, were attacked in front by the elephants, on the flanks by the cavalry, and in the rear by the Numidians, who had come out of their ambushade by the river. Some succeeded in breaking through Hannibal's infantry and returned to Placentia; the rest were forced back into the Trebia. The Carthaginians made no attempt to cross the river. The vanquished Romans abandoned their

camp to the enemy. The Gauls, one and all, joined the Carthaginians (218 B.C.).

Hannibal hoped to win the Italian peoples away from Rome. He retained only such prisoners as were Romans; the allies he sent home without ransom, saying he had not come to make war on them but to deliver them from Rome.

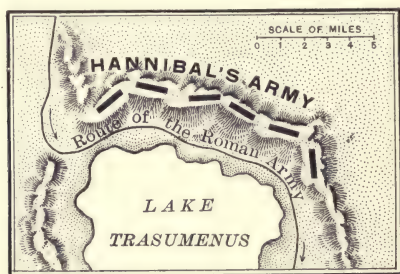
Hannibal spent the winter in this country. The Africans, being accustomed to a warmer climate, suffered intensely, some of them dying from cold. All but one of the elephants perished.

Trasumenus (217 B.C.).—In the spring of 217, Hannibal resumed his campaign. The new consul, Flaminius, had stationed his army in Etruria. To attack him it was necessary to cross the mountains. Hannibal avoided the easy road, knowing that the enemy would expect him to come that way, and chose instead the shorter road, across the marshes where it was thought impossible for an army to go, especially after the winter rains. At the head marched the Spaniards and Africans, with the baggage; then the Gauls; the cavalry formed the rear-guard. The soldiers spent four days and three nights with their feet in water and without sleep; they could not lie down on the ground and they could not sleep anywhere but on the camp baggage. The pack-animals died, the horses lost their shoes in the bog; Hannibal, who rode on the last remaining elephant, fell sick and lost the sight of one eye.

The marshes were passed at last and the Carthaginians were close to the Romans while the latter believed them still far away. Hannibal's army appeared before the Roman camp, and ravaged the country, setting fire to the houses. Flaminius, seeing the smoke, became angry: "What will they say at Rome," he said, "when they hear that we allowed this devastation to go on?"

Hannibal proceeded towards Rome. Flaminius broke camp and followed him. Hannibal came to Lake Trasumenus, a tiny sheet of water lying in a valley and shut

in by hills commanding it on all sides; the valley was reached by a narrow path between the mountain and the lake. Hannibal led his army into the valley and encamped on the surrounding hills. Flaminius came up in the evening, and, ignorant of the enemy's proximity, encamped at the entrance to the valley.



PLAN OF BATTLE OF LAKE TRASUMENUS.

The next morning the Roman army was on the road by the edge of the lake, amid a fog that concealed the enemy from view. Suddenly Hannibal gave a signal and from all sides his soldiers charged. The Romans, taken by surprise, had not even time to form in line, and were either slaughtered, or drowned in the lake. Fifteen thousand of them perished; a body of six thousand marched through the valley and ascended a hill at the lower end of it. The fog lifted and from the hill the Romans saw the wreck of their army, and hurried to make their own escape. But Maharbal, with his horsemen and archers, overtook, surrounded, and captured them. Hannibal took fifteen thousand prisoners and shared them among his soldiers. Then, crossing the Apennines again, he reached the Adriatic; along his line of march he spared the allies, but massacred all Romans capable of bearing arms. His army being in need of rest, he paused to give his wounded time to recover, and obtain fresh horses. Then he resumed his march southward to Apulia, whence, enter-

ing the mountains of Samnium and crossing Italy again, he established himself in the rich plain of Campania.

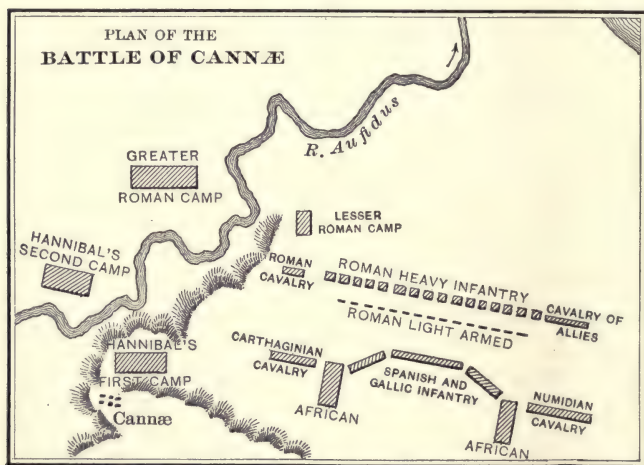
Fabius Cunctator.—At Rome the senate was alarmed and had chosen a dictator, Fabius, surnamed Cunctator (“the delayer”); his plan was not to risk a great battle against Hannibal, but to gain time to mature his soldiers. It was chiefly the Numidian cavalry that terrified the Romans. Fabius therefore shunned plains where cavalry could operate; he led his army along the foot of the mountains. In this way he accustomed his soldiers to the sight of the enemy and cut off Carthaginian horsemen who went out on foraging parties. Fabius constantly balked Hannibal in his movements. One day he nearly captured him. Hannibal had established his camp in a narrow valley. Fabius seized the hills overlooking it, and also the outlets. He made ready to attack on the following morning. Hannibal, seeing himself surrounded, devised a trick. He had in his camp cattle taken by his soldiers; he chose two thousand bullocks and fastened fagots to their horns. When night came he set fire to the fagots, and his soldiers, lightly armed, drove the bullocks towards the hills, running and shouting. Meanwhile Hannibal silently marched with his army towards the outlets. A troop of Romans had been guarding these passages, but, on hearing the shouts and seeing the lights from the fagots moving on the hills, they had concluded that the enemy was attacking and left their post to go towards the bullocks. Fabius, not in the least understanding all the noise, did not venture to leave his camp, so Hannibal succeeded in escaping. He returned to the other side of Italy and spent the winter in Apulia.

Rome raised eight legions of five thousand men each.

Hannibal resumed the campaign, and after harvest took possession of Cannæ, whence the Roman army drew its supplies. The Roman generals informed their government that it would not be possible to sustain their soldiers in that devastated region, and that the allies were beginning to show signs of revolt. The senate ordered an immediate battle.

Battle of Cannæ.—In the spring of 216 B.C. the two consuls joined the army, six miles from Hannibal's camp, in the valley of the Aufidus (Ofanto), near Cannæ. One of the consuls, Æmilius Paulus, was unwilling to risk a battle in the open plain and wished to entice the enemy to a spot less favorable to the Numidian horsemen; the other consul, Varro, advised an immediate attack. They had divided the army between them, and each had his own camp; each held command only on alternate days.

At daybreak Varro crossed the Aufidus and drew up his army in line of battle on the plain. In front he placed the



BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

velites, on the wings the cavalry, and in the centre the legionaries (Romans on the right, allies on the left); in all, eighty thousand foot-soldiers and six thousand horsemen.

Hannibal placed at the head of his army the slingers and archers, on the left wing Hasdrubal with the Spanish and Gallic horsemen, on the right wing Hanno with the Numidian horsemen, and in the centre the foot-soldiers. The Spaniards, with their tunics of linen embroidered with

purple, and their pointed swords, the Gauls, half-naked and armed with their heavy swords, were in the middle; on either side the Africans armed after the Roman fashion with arms taken from the Romans; in all forty thousand foot-soldiers and ten thousand horsemen,—slightly more than half as many as the Romans, but with two years' experience in the art of war.

At first the light-armed soldiers fought on both sides without result. Then the Spanish and Gallic horsemen on the left attacked the Roman horsemen. The Romans could not fight on horseback, so they dismounted and fought on foot, and were all slain.

The Roman legionaries now advanced upon Hannibal's centre, composed of the Spanish and Gallic infantry; by a



CARTHAGINIAN HELMET FOUND AT CANNÆ.

bold and difficult manœuvre this infantry retired slowly back, still fighting; the legionaries followed close upon them, until they were in the very heart of Hannibal's army. All at once the African foot-soldiers on either side closed in and attacked the Romans on both flanks, putting them to rout. Hasdrubal's horsemen, who had just put the Roman cavalry to

flight, came to join the Numidians. They hastened in pursuit of the fleeing Romans and slew them.

Seventy thousand Romans were killed, only three thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred and seventy horsemen escaping. The Gauls lost four thousand men, the Spaniards and Africans but fifteen hundred.

The Romans had left a guard of ten thousand men in their camp; these were surrounded by the enemy and forced to surrender.

Rome had never suffered such a defeat as the Cannæ disaster. Æmilius had been killed, and with him a number of the young nobles. Every wealthy Roman wore a gold ring; so many were left on the battle-field that Hannibal sent a bushel of these rings back to Carthage.

War in Southern Italy.—Rome was at first wild with consternation, expecting every day to see Hannibal attack the city. Roman courage was not daunted, however; the city's defences were strengthened and new legions raised. When Varro, the consul defeated at Cannæ, returned to the city, the people went out in a body to meet him and the senate tendered him a vote of thanks for not having despaired of the Republic.

Hannibal did not attempt to march on Rome, finding doubtless that his army was too weary or too weak to attack such a great city. This caused great surprise and gave rise to the following story:

In the evening after the battle of Cannæ Maharbal, one of the leaders of the cavalry, said to Hannibal: "Give orders to march and in three days you will dine at the Capitol." Hannibal refused. Maharbal thereupon cried: "You know how to gain a victory, Hannibal, but you do not know how to take advantage of it!"

Hannibal proposed to the senate to send back the soldiers taken in the Roman camp at a very low price (less than sixty cents a head). He sent on this mission ten prisoners on parole to return. The senate heard their request; they explained that they had not been taken in flight or through

any fault of their own, but in the camp where their general had left them. Rome was in great need of soldiers. The senate, however, declared that a Roman's salvation lay only in victory, and refused to pay the ransom.

The soldiers who had escaped slaughter at Cannæ were punished by the senate for not having died at their post. They were sent to Sicily, where they were allowed no food but barley and were obliged to live outside of the camp.

The peoples of southern Italy, who were subject to Rome only through force, joined Carthage on hearing of Rome's defeat. The Samnites, the Lucanians, and the wealthy city of Capua, all made alliance with Hannibal. The Romans retained only the Greek cities on the seacoast.

Hannibal established himself in southern Italy and remained there thirteen years, trying to subjugate or win away the allies of Rome. The winter following the battle at Cannæ his army passed in Capua, a city of luxury and pleasures, famous at this period for its games, banquets, and shows. According to the popular saying of the day, Hannibal's soldiers plunged into the *dissipations of Capua*, and lost their strenuous quality. They won no more great victories, and Rome gradually regained her superiority.

In 211 B.C. the Romans laid siege to Capua. Hannibal, in order to force them to raise the siege, marched suddenly towards Rome; but the army around Capua did not move. Rome was too well fortified to be taken by assault, and Hannibal withdrew.

The Capuans were starved into surrender. The leader of the party opposed to the Romans invited his friends to a last feast; at the end of the banquet he had brought to him a cup full of a violent poison, and took from it the first sip; each of the guests then drank from it in turn. Five hundred of the wealthiest inhabitants of Capua were taken to Rome, where they were scourged and beheaded.

Taking of Syracuse.—The Carthaginians had tried to regain the lower part of Sicily. In Syracuse, hitherto allied

with Rome, a general of the party opposed to Rome took command after a civil war.

Rome sent an army to besiege Syracuse by land, and a fleet to besiege her by sea.

Archimedes, the most famous mathematician of antiquity, lived in Syracuse. He had invented new war-machines which wrought havoc among the besiegers. Catapults placed on the city walls hurled great rocks at the ships and crushed them. Iron teeth worked by machinery seized the enemy's soldiers and threw them high in the air.

The Romans thought they could reach the top of the city wall from the sea. They brought two ships to the foot of the wall and fastened them together; then they leaned against the wall a huge ladder topped by a platform which was on a level with the wall; the soldiers on the platform were to lower a drawbridge and pass over it to the wall. But a Syracusan machine wielding an iron hand seized the ship by the prow, turned it upside down and then either sank it in the sea or broke it to pieces on the rocks.

The besieging army at length grew so afraid of these inventions of Archimedes that the mere sight of a rope or a stake put them to flight.

Marcellus, the Roman general, gave up the idea of taking Syracuse by assault and decided to blockade it. The following year Syracuse was taken and pillaged and Archimedes killed (212 B.C.).

The following story is one of those told concerning his death:

A Roman soldier was sent by Marcellus to find Archimedes. He found him so absorbed in a problem that he had not even heard the enemy enter the city; he begged the soldier to spare his life until he should discover the solution. The soldier was exasperated and killed him at once, thereby incurring the displeasure of Marcellus.

Defeat and Death of Hasdrubal.—While Hannibal was fighting in Italy his brother Hasdrubal, who had remained in Spain, was engaged in a bitter struggle against a Roman

army. In 217 B.C. the Romans, after their victory, had established themselves at Tarragona; they then drove back the Carthaginians towards the south, regained Saguntum (214 B.C.), and finally took Carthagera. In the latter city they found the wives and children of the principal native chiefs, who were kept by the Carthaginians as hostages (210 B.C.).

Hasdrubal resolved to abandon Spain and join his brother in Italy. With a small army of Spaniards he eluded the Romans and crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul; the following year he reached Cisalpine Gaul. The Gauls, ever hostile to Rome, joined him, and he advanced to the shore of the Adriatic.

Rome now had to meet the two brothers at once. One army, commanded by Claudius, one of the consuls, was engaged against Hannibal in the south of Italy; the other, under Livius, the other consul, went to meet Hasdrubal in the north. Hasdrubal sent a messenger to his brother to inform him of his arrival, but his messenger was taken by the Romans.

Claudius, on learning of Hasdrubal's plans, left a part of his toops in his camp, opposite Hannibal, and hurriedly marched with the bulk of his army to join his colleague Livius. One day Hasdrubal heard the sound of trumpets in the Roman camp announcing the presence of the two consuls, and found himself face to face with the two Roman armies.

He was anxious to avoid a battle, but his guides deserted him, and he was attacked by the Roman cavalry while marching near the Metaurus, a mountain torrent. The Spanish soldiers were overwhelmed by the superior numbers, the Gauls broke ranks and all were slaughtered. Hasdrubal was killed (207 B.C.). The victorious Romans returned to confront Hannibal, and flung into his camp the head of Hasdrubal. Hannibal withdrew into Bruttium, the southern extremity of Italy.

Hannibal's Departure.—In Spain the Romans forced the Carthaginians to evacuate every one of their strongholds. Mago, the last Carthaginian general in Spain, finally deserted his only remaining post, the city of Gades (Cadiz), which had joined the Romans (206 B.C.).

This Spanish war won fame for a young Roman general named Scipio (Publius Cornelius Scipio). He was elected consul in 205 B.C. and sent to Sicily. With the aid of the Sicilians he fitted out a fleet and carried his army to Africa (204 B.C.). A Numidian prince, Massinissa by name, had just become embroiled with Carthage, and made alliance with the Romans. Scipio thus brought the war back into Africa.

He remained there two years, wintering his army near Carthage. At the end of the second year the Carthaginians, twice defeated, sued for peace. Scipio would grant only a truce, and that only on condition that Carthage should withdraw all her troops from Italy (203 B.C.).

Hannibal received orders to come home. He set sail with his soldiers and all those Italian allies who were willing to follow him to Africa. Those who refused to leave Italy were massacred.

The Romans said that Hannibal wept with rage at abandoning Italy, where he had won so many great victories and which he had hoped to conquer.

Battle of Zama.—Hannibal landed at Leptis, some distance south of Carthage, and marched against Scipio. He came up with the Roman army near Zama, five days' march from Carthage. Before the battle he asked for an interview with Scipio. The interview took place, but nothing came of it.

The next day both armies drew up in line of battle on the plain. Scipio placed in the centre his legions in three lines, according to Roman custom; on the left wing the Italian cavalry, in command of his friend Lælius; on the right Massinissa's Numidian cavalry: in all, twenty-two thousand

men. Hannibal placed in advance his eighty elephants; on the left wing his Numidian horsemen; on the right wing his Carthaginian horsemen. The infantry formed the centre, arranged in three lines, one behind the other: first, the European mercenaries; second, the Africans; third, the picked soldiers, the old Italian compaigners: in all, fifty thousand men.

The elephants opened the attack; but some of them, alarmed by the noise of the Roman trumpets, fell back upon the Numidians and broke up their ranks; the others had to be withdrawn. The Carthaginian cavalry on the right was attacked by the Roman cavalry and thrown into confusion.

Hannibal's infantry now advanced step by step; the legionaries on one side, on the other the first line of the Carthaginians. The Romans were shouting and beating upon their shields, while the Carthaginian mercenaries shouted their war-cry, each in his own tongue. The second Roman line joined the battle. They fought at close quarters. Hannibal's second line, the Africans, instead of supporting the first line, stood motionless. The mercenaries were infuriated; they fell upon the Africans and began to kill them. In the midst of this disorder they were themselves attacked and routed by the third line of the Romans.



P. CORN. SCIPIO AFRICANUS (VISCONTI).
Bust at Naples.

The panic-stricken Carthaginians fled for aid to the third line, the veterans whom Hannibal was keeping in reserve. Hannibal, wishing to preserve order in his third line, commanded his veterans to present the point of their pikes. The fleeing Carthaginians, thus repulsed, turned to the wings. The battle-field was strewn with dead and wounded. Scipio had his wounded carried to the rear; he then sounded a retreat, collected all his legionaries, and drove them in a mass upon the enemy. The veterans met the shock bravely and made a long resistance. Finally the cavalry of Lælius and Massinissa, having routed that of Carthage, made a rear attack on the veterans and forced them to flee. Scipio pursued them and took Hannibal's camp (202 B.C.).

End of the War.—Carthage could offer no further resistance. She sued for peace and accepted all the conditions Scipio offered: Carthage must return all prisoners, deliver up all deserters, and surrender all her elephants and all but ten of her war-vessels; she bound herself to pay two hundred talents yearly for fifty years,¹ to restore to Massinissa, the ally of Rome, all the lands that had belonged to him, and to enter into no war without the consent of the Roman people. Carthage thus ceased to be a great power and became dependent on Rome. As a guarantee of good faith, Scipio reserved the right to choose one hundred Carthaginians between the ages of fourteen and thirty, and hold them as hostages. Hannibal himself urged Carthage to accept the treaty (201 B.C.).

It was reported that, hearing a member of the senate at Carthage speak against the treaty, Hannibal picked him up and threw him out of his seat. He then apologized to the senate. After thirty-six years' absence, he said, he had forgotten the proper way to act, and he had been unable to repress his indignation at seeing a Carthaginian who did not thank fortune that peace had been granted on such favorable terms; he suggested

[¹ This was \$250,000 a year, or \$12,500,000 in all. Some authorities add that a lump sum of 4000 talents (\$5,000,000) in cash was exacted.]

that, on the contrary, prayers should be offered to the gods to make the Roman people ratify the treaty.

Rome was henceforth the sole great power in the West. She revenged herself on the peoples of southern Italy who had supported Hannibal.



SPAIN—HANNIBAL'S ROUTE.

The Cisalpine Gauls were not yet subdued. They still made war against Rome, led, it is said, by two Carthaginian generals, Mago and Hamilcar. This time the three principal Gallic peoples united against the Roman colonies. They took Placentia and destroyed it, then laid siege to Cremona. The war lasted several years and was very disastrous. Rome sent out both her consuls at once, and the Gauls called for a general uprising.

Finally the Cenomani, the eastern Gauls, espoused the cause of Rome. The two other Gallic peoples were vanquished; the Insubres (Milan district) surrendered; the Boii, rather than submit to Rome, emigrated to the Danube.

Rome filled their country with strong colonics, Bologna, Modena, and Parma. A military road, the Via Emilia, was



built across the country to Placentia.

The Romans, being now in undisputed possession of Spain, took control of the silver-mines and the Mediterranean coast that had belonged to the Carthaginians.

The second Punic war had destroyed the power of Carthage and given to Rome Cisalpine Gaul and Spain.

SECOND PUNIC WAR—
HANNIBAL'S ROUTE.

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SOLDIERS STORMING A TOWN.

CHAPTER X.

CONQUEST OF THE BASIN OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.

War against Philip, King of Macedonia.—There were in the East three great kingdoms governed by Greek kings, descended from the successors of Alexander,—Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt.

The king of Macedonia was Rome's nearest neighbor. He was the first to go to war with her.

The Romans had begun to settle on the other side of the Adriatic, in the country then known as Illyria. They had come first in 229 B.C. to put down the pirates who were destroying shipping on the Adriatic, and ever since they had had the alliance of the Greek colonies on the coast of Epirus, who lived by commerce with the interior (Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus).

In 215 B.C., while Hannibal was making war in Italy, King Philip made alliance with him against Rome. Almost all the Greeks, however, detested Philip, and they joined the Romans. After nine years of fruitless warfare, Philip made peace with Rome (205 B.C.).

He continued to make war on the Greeks. He got together a fleet of war-vessels and began to conquer the coast of Asia. The people of Rhodes and Athens became alarmed and called on Rome for aid.

Now that the Punic war was at an end, the senate advised the renewal of war against the king of Macedonia. The consul, according to custom, convoked the assembly of the people; the citizens, exhausted and impoverished by twenty

years of war, voted against the senate. At the senate's request the consul called the assembly together once more and addressed it. This time the people voted as the senate wished (200 B.C.).

Rome had a number of allies in this war: Massinissa sent his Numidian horsemen; Carthage furnished wheat; Rhodes and Pergamum, Greek cities in Asia, gave ships; the Ætolians, the best fighters in Greece, sent their cavalry to ravage Thessaly; the Barbarians of Illyria and Thrace invaded Macedonia from the north and northwest.

Philip, in addition to his own kingdom, had the support of Thessaly, Eubœa, Bœotia, and the Greek cities on the coast of Thrace.

At first the Romans mismanaged the war badly. After two years the Roman army, leaving the coast of Illyria, vainly endeavored to enter Thessaly. The soldiers became discontented with the lack of booty, and demanded their discharge.

At length Quintius Flamininus, a new consul only thirty-two years of age, took command of the army and encamped in Epirus opposite Philip. Shepherds offered their services as guides, and led four thousand picked soldiers across the mountains, hiding through the day and marching all night by moonlight; in two nights they reached Philip's camp. They attacked the Macedonians from both sides at once and put them to flight. The Romans entered Thessaly, thus cutting communication between Philip and his Greek allies, and forcing the latter to submit to Rome (198 B.C.).

Philip was now alone with his army. He had increased his force to twenty-five thousand by enlisting the services of all subjects over sixteen years of age.

Battle of Cynoscephalæ.—The Roman army was operating in Thessaly in a plain cut by trees, hedges, and gardens which they ravaged on their way. Philip was manœuvring on the other side of a chain of hills which crossed this plain.

For two days the two armies marched side by side, separated only by an elevation in the land, each unconscious of the other's proximity; neither had scouts, a piece of carelessness very common at the time.

The third day, following a damp night, was dark and foggy. Philip sent a body of troops to occupy the heights which separated him from the enemy (these rounded hills were called the *Cynoscephalæ*, dogs' heads).

Flaminius from his side sent towards the hills a body of horsemen and velites who, to their surprise, fell in with a party of Macedonians. They began to fight, both sides sending for reinforcements.

Flaminius sent the Ætolians, Philip his Thessalian and Macedonian cavalry. The Romans were already driven from the hills, but the Ætolian cavalry checked their retreat. A messenger came to tell Philip that the barbarians were in flight and that he must seize the opportunity to attack them. The spot was ill chosen for the Macedonians. Their phalanx, a great mass of sixteen thousand foot-soldiers armed with long lances, needed an open space to manœuvre without breaking ranks. Philip, however, could not let the chance escape him; he advanced the right wing to take its position on the hills.

Then Flaminius, leaving his right wing at rest behind the elephants, led the left wing to the combat. The Macedonians advanced on the Romans with their pikes held low; war-cries were heard on every side. The Romans at first yielded to the force of the charge. The left wing of the phalanx, which had been left behind, had now nearly reached the top of the hill. The Romans' right wing advanced, led by the elephants.

The Macedonians could not hold their rank on such a battle-field; they could not hear their orders, and the elephants' charge was forcing them to give way. At this critical moment a Roman officer suddenly realized how favorable this ground was to the manœuvres of the small

units of which the Roman army was composed. Taking twenty maniples from the right wing, he led them to the assistance of the left wing and attacked the Macedonians from the rear.

The troops in phalanx, packed close together and encumbered by their long pikes, could neither turn nor defend themselves individually; they cast away their now useless pikes and fled. The Romans hurried in pursuit. Meeting a band of Macedonians with pikes uplifted in token of surrender, the Romans, ignorant of this custom, slew them until stopped by Flamininus. Eight thousand Macedonians were killed and five thousand taken prisoner. The Romans lost seven hundred men (197 B.C.).

Philip sued for peace and Rome granted it, on these conditions: Philip must surrender his fleet and all his possessions in Greece, and promise to make Rome's friends and enemies his own in the future.

Flamininus then proceeded to Corinth to announce to the Greek peoples that Rome had delivered them from the king of Macedonia (196 B.C.).

War against Antiochus.—At this time the king of Syria, Antiochus II., surnamed the Great, was endeavoring to establish a great empire. He had made an expedition into India, whence he was said to have brought back one hundred and fifty elephants. Little by little he took possession of the coast of Asia Minor, then passed the Hellespont and began to take the cities on the coast of Thrace.

Eumenes, king of the little Greek kingdom of Pergamum, asked Rome for aid against his overpowerful neighbor: The senate called upon Antiochus to leave Europe and confine himself to Asia. Antiochus replied that he had never interfered in the Romans' affairs in Italy and did not recognize their right to interfere in his affairs in the East.

It was about this time that Hannibal arrived at the court of Antiochus. After the close of the second Punic war he had governed Carthage, and labored constantly to restore its

power and to reorganize the army. The Roman senate became alarmed and ordered Carthage to deliver Hannibal to Rome. The old soldier was expecting this and kept a ship ready to sail at any time; he proceeded to Asia, and offered his services to Antiochus.

It was said that Hannibal offered to take an army into Italy and begin the war; but that Antiochus refused through jealousy of Hannibal.

The Ætolians, who had just been fighting with Rome against Philip, were greatly dissatisfied. Their hope of retaining Thessaly had been frustrated by the Romans. Thoas, one of their chiefs, went to Antiochus and persuaded him to accept their alliance in order to drive the Romans out of Greece.

Rome did not take the offensive, being too busy fighting the Cisalpine Gauls and the Spaniards. But before Antiochus had his army ready, these Roman wars were finished. Philip of Macedonia, who was still Rome's ally, was irritated by this delay.

Antiochus landed in Greece with a small army (ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry) and without money (192 B.C.). The summer he wasted in Thessaly, the winter in celebrating his marriage.

Rome sent out a small army which regained Thessaly. Antiochus withdrew to Thermopylæ and entrenched himself there, while a body of Ætolians guarded the mountain-paths (the same through which the Persians had once surprised Leonidas). The guard was easily taken unawares and put to rout, and the royal army fled almost without resistance (191 B.C.).

Antiochus abandoned Greece to the single-handed resistance of the Ætolians and went to attack Pergamum in Asia, the capital of Eumenes, who was an ally of Rome. The Roman army followed him; Lucius Scipio, the general in command, had brought with him his brother Publius, the hero of Zama. The army passed through Macedonia, then

Thrace. Antiochus had fortified the peninsula at the entrance to Asia, but made no attempt to defend it and sued for peace. He found the Romans' conditions too severe, however, and refused them.

The Roman army advanced into Asia Minor as far as Magnesia at the foot of Mount Sipylus. There Antiochus offered battle. The Romans had four legions, their allies from Macedonia, Pergamum, and Achaia, and their mercenaries from Crete, Illyria, and Thrace, thirty thousand men in all; and sixteen elephants from Africa. Antiochus is said to have had seventy thousand men, including twelve thousand horsemen and sixteen thousand hoplites (heavy infantry) arranged in a phalanx, after the Macedonian custom. In front of the phalanx he placed his Asiatics, his Galatian and Cappadocian mercenaries, his chariots fitted with scythes, and his Arabs, armed with bow and sword and mounted on camels; on the wings, his elephants and his guard with their silver shields.

Antiochus, with his guard, came up to the Roman camp; there he was stopped. Meanwhile the Roman allies drove the chariots and elephants back on the phalanx; the army of Antiochus was panic-stricken and broke up. When the king saw from afar the rout of his army, he fled. His soldiers took refuge in their camp, but were driven out and massacred. Antiochus lost fifty thousand men, the Romans three hundred.

Antiochus sued for peace. He promised to surrender all his elephants and his fleet, to pay fifteen thousand talents within twelve years, and never again to attack the Greek Islands or to cross the Taurus. He gave twenty hostages and promised to deliver to the Romans Hannibal, Thoas, and three of his advisers who were hostile to Rome (189 B.C.).

Hannibal heard the terms in time to escape to the protection of the king of Bithynia.

Antiochus, in order to procure the money promised to the

Romans, prepared an expedition in which he himself was killed. It was said that his subjects stoned him to death for stealing treasure from the temples.

Antiochus was the last powerful king in Syria.

War with Perseus.—Rome, having conquered the two greatest kings of the time, was now the most powerful state in the world, and the senate began to interfere in Eastern affairs.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, made war on the king of Pergamum; with the assistance of Hannibal, who had taken refuge with him, he was victorious. The senate ordered Prusias to deliver Hannibal to Rome. Flamininus went to find him. There were seven secret entrances to the house in which Hannibal was living; Flamininus had them all guarded. When Hannibal saw that he could not escape, he swallowed a poison which he carried always with him, and cried, "Let us deliver the Romans from their terror" (183 B.C.).

The Greeks complained that Philip, king of Macedonia, wanted to subjugate them; the senate sustained their complaint. Philip was vexed and labored to prepare his kingdom for war. He reopened his gold-mines, founded a new city, Philippopolis, and made alliance with a savage people, the Bastarnæ.

After the death of Philip in 179 B.C., his son Perseus became king of Macedonia. He was a man of fine appearance, gallant, affable, generous, and beloved by his people.

He devoted himself to amassing wealth, collecting arms and ammunition for three armies, and ten years' rations; he equipped forty-five thousand men. He made numerous allies,—the mountaineers of Epirus, a king of Illyria, and a king of Thrace; in Greece, the Bœotians; in Asia, his brother-in-law, Prusias, king of Syria, and Seleucus, his father-in-law. Even the great Greek city of Rhodes, the former ally of Rome, negotiated with him. It was said that Perseus met the Asiatic and Carthaginian envoys in the island

of Samothrace, and interviewed them secretly. When he felt himself strong enough he led his army into Greece to the temple of Delphi.

His enemy, Eumenes, king of Pergamum, went to Rome to denounce him. The senate, as a sign of honor, sent Eumenes a curule chair and an ivory staff. On his return to Asia, Eumenes passed near Delphi; on the mountain-road he was attacked by brigands, who were concealed behind an old house, and fell in a swoon. Perseus was accused of having caused the attack.

The Romans declared war on Perseus in 171 B.C. An army was easily made up, for there was no lack of volunteers to fight in a country reputed so rich, where booty would be abundant. Nevertheless, Perseus made a successful resistance for two years.

The Roman army landed at Apollonia, crossed the mountains, and invaded Thessaly, where it was defeated. Perseus, however, was anxious for peace; he offered to restore his conquests and even to pay an indemnity. The consul, however, insisted on unconditional surrender.

His successor lost his whole year (170 B.C.) in attempting to force a passage through Macedonia; his lieutenant was defeated in Illyria.

Rome raised a new army. Marcius, the consul, succeeded in getting it through the gorges and forests of Mount Olympus, with the cavalry, baggage, and elephants at the head. The army reached Macedonia and went into winter quarters (169 B.C.).

Battle of Pydna.—The new consul, Æmilius Paulus, pitched his camp directly opposite that of Perseus, near Pydna; and here, in a plain between the mountains and the sea, was fought the decisive battle.

It was evening. Perseus had just offered a sacrifice and no one was expecting a battle. The men of the advance guards were leading their horses to water when they met the Romans and began to fight. Both sides sent for help. The

phalanx presented a hedge of pikes, which the Romans tried to cut with their swords or seize with their hands; but the phalanx permitted no encroachment.

Finally in advancing the phalanx came upon uneven ground and broke apart. Then the Romans hurled themselves by platoons into the vacant spaces and attacked the Macedonians from all sides. The long pikes were an encumbrance to the Macedonians and their small shields but a poor defence; the phalanx once broken, they could expect only slaughter. They lost twenty thousand men killed and eleven thousand prisoners. The Romans lost only one hundred (169 B.C.).

End of the Kingdom of Macedonia.—Perseus fled with his treasure, but his subjects no longer dared to defend him. The inhabitants of Amphipolis implored him to go away, so he set sail with his treasure for the island of Samothrace and took refuge in a temple. Hence he wrote to Æmilius Paulus, suing for peace; in the letter he gave himself the title of king, and Æmilius Paulus refused to receive it. Perseus wrote a second letter without claiming any title, and Æmilius replied that he must surrender unconditionally. The Roman fleet surrounded the island, but religion forbade seizing Perseus in a temple, but he was betrayed and gave himself up.

Æmilius Paulus summoned to Amphipolis delegates from all the Macedonian cities, and read to them the decision of the senate. There was no longer a kingdom of Macedonia; the country was divided into four provinces, between which there must be no communication; they must pay to Rome one half of the tax they were in the habit of paying to Perseus; they were forbidden to bear arms. All supporters of Perseus, governors of fortified places, and captains, were transported to Italy with their families, and only the peasantry remained in Macedonia (167 B.C.).

The Roman soldiers were discontented because they had not had a chance to pillage the country. As compensation,

Æmilius Paulus ordered each city in Epirus to gather together all its gold and silver. On an appointed day the soldiers entered all the cities (said to be seventy in number) at once, under pretext of seeking the gold and silver, and sacked them. The inhabitants (one hundred and fifty thousand in number) were sold as slaves and the price divided among the soldiers.

Triumph of Æmilius Paulus.—On returning to Rome, Æmilius Paulus celebrated the most brilliant triumph ever seen. The procession occupied three days, so many objects had he to exhibit.

The first day was taken up by two hundred and fifty chariots laden with statuary and pictures. The second day, chariots laden with arms,—helmets, shields, cuirasses, quivers, bits and bridles, pikes and swords. Behind these came seven hundred and fifty vases filled with pieces of silver, each borne by four men; drinking vases, cups, and flagons. The third day, led by trumpeters sounding the charge, marched one hundred and twenty bullocks adorned for the sacrifice with garlands and with their horns gilded; following them came young men richly dressed and carrying vases of gold and silver, then seventy-seven vases filled with gold pieces, a whole table-service of gold plate belonging to Perseus, and a great golden vase (weighing 575 pounds) studded with precious stones, then the empty chariot of Perseus with his arms and his diadem. Next came the two sons and the daughter of Perseus with their tutors, and Perseus, robed in black and followed by his courtiers, all in tears. Then came four hundred golden crowns sent to Æmilius Paulus by the Greek cities in honor of his victory. Finally, on the triumphal chariot, Æmilius Paulus appeared, wearing a robe of purple embroidered with gold and carrying an olive branch in his right hand. His soldiers, arranged in companies, followed him singing.

In this manner he ascended the Capitol and offered the usual sacrifice to Jupiter. He filled the Roman treasury so

full that the government ceased to exact the *tributum*, or war tax, from Roman citizens.¹

Perseus was thrown into prison and, it is said, perished from hunger.

Roman Supremacy in the East.—The eastern princes were intimidated by the fall of Perseus, and endeavored to keep peace with Rome.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, came to Rome. He said to the envoys from the senate: "You see before you one of those you have set free, ready to do whatever may please you." He went to the senate chamber with shaved head and a free-man's cap, and, prostrating himself before the door, kissed the threshold, and cried: "Gods of salvation, I salute you."

Eumenes, king of Pergamum, also came to Rome. But the senate did not want all the kings coming to Italy; a quæstor intercepted Eumenes as he was landing at Brundisium, and ordered him to return to his own country.

Antiochus IV, king of Syria, determined to conquer Egypt and marched on Pelusium. Popilius Lænas was sent by the senate to stop him.

Popilius came to the king's camp, where Antiochus greeted him and offered his hand. Popilius, without returning the greeting, handed him the tablets bearing the senate's message; it was an order to stop the war. The king read it and replied that he would consider it. Popilius, with a small stick he had in his hand, drew a circle in the sand around the king and said: "You shall not pass this circle until you have given your answer." Antiochus was frightened and said he would obey the senate. Then Popilius took his hand and gave him greeting.

Popilius hurried to Alexandria and decided who should be king in Egypt.

In Ætolia the leader of the Roman party brought together all the chief partisans of Perseus and had them massacred by the Roman soldiers.

[¹ This tax was not exacted again until the year 43 B.C.]

Rhodes had driven out all supporters of Perseus; but the senate, being displeased with Rhodes, gave her envoys an ungracious reception and threatened war. Cato spoke in their behalf and calmed the senate, so that it was content with depriving Rhodes of her Asiatic possessions.

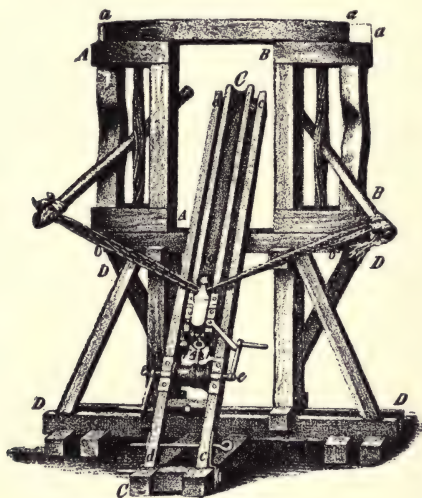
The Achæans had supported Rome and sent their soldiers against Perseus. The leader of the Roman party, however, pointed out one thousand of the chief citizens as hostile to Rome, and the senate transported them to Italy; among them was Polybius, the historian, who became the friend of Scipio. These men were kept in Italy for almost twenty years. At length Scipio begged the senate to release them, and a lively discussion followed. Cato decided the affair by saying: "Have we then nothing better to do than to dispute as to whether a lot of decrepit Greeks shall be buried by our grave-diggers or by their own?" They were allowed to return to their native land, but of the thousand only three hundred were left.

Destruction of Carthage.—Carthage had ceased to be a great power but remained a rich city, and the Romans continued to hate her. Massinissa, the Numidian king and Roman ally, was a neighbor to Carthage; he attacked her several times, and each time Carthage asked permission of Rome to make war on him. Each time Rome refused and obliged Carthage to grant what was demanded.

On one of these occasions Cato, sent to Carthage by the senate, was impressed by the richness of the country and was filled with envy. On his return he showed some enormous figs he had brought from Africa, and said: "See these figs. The land that produced these is only three days' journey from Rome." From this time, whenever his opinion was asked on any question whatever, he invariably concluded his answer with these words: "And besides this, it is my opinion that Carthage must be destroyed."

Those Carthaginians who wanted war with Rome finally formed a party. This party came into power, drove out the

partisans of Massinissa, and began to negotiate with the enemies of Rome in Macedonia and Greece. The Carthaginians were alarmed, exiled the war party and sent an apology to Rome. The senate answered the envoys with these words: "Give us satisfaction."—"What satisfaction do you ask?"—"Of that you are well aware," was the reply.



BALLISTA.

A Roman army (eighty thousand men) landed in Africa; the city of Utica made alliance with Rome. The Carthaginians had not the strength for defence and sent word to the consuls that they would surrender at discretion. The consuls promised to leave them their liberty and their laws, and ordered them to send three hundred hostages to Sicily. Then they ordered that all arms should be given up; Carthage sent her ships, two hundred thousand stands of arms, and three thousand engines of war. The Carthaginians being now completely disarmed, the consuls made known their last condition: the Carthaginians must leave their city and

go back ten miles into the country, which meant living like peasants away from the sea and resigning commerce, the source of their wealth.

When the Carthaginians realized how they had been duped, they were infuriated and massacred all the partisans of Rome, closed the city gates and began to manufacture arms in great haste; the temples were converted into workshops.

They had not, it is said, enough rope for the engines of war, so the Carthaginian women sacrificed their hair.

The Roman army made an attack and was driven back.

The Third Punic War (149 B.C.).—Thus began the last struggle of the doomed city. Carthage occupied a tongue of land lying between the sea and the Lake of Tunis, joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus. On the shore toward the sea was the citadel (Byrsa), built on the hills, and surrounded by a thick wall which rendered it an independent stronghold. A second wall surrounded the city, which was built on a tongue of land and blocked the entrance to the isthmus; there was, however, a space between the foot of this wall and the Lake of Tunis. On this space the Roman army encamped, and enlarged it by filling up the edge of the lake, which is shallow. They then constructed two towers which were mounted on wheels and so enormous that it required six thousand men to push one of them; with these the Romans battered down a part of the wall. The besieged army came out, however, and destroyed the machines; they also repulsed an attack by the Romans. The latter, camped on the shore of the sea and the lake, fell ill. The consuls gave up the siege, and tried to conquer the surrounding country. They were driven back by the two cities.

A new consul, Scipio, the adopted grandson of the man who conquered Hannibal, came to take command of the army. He found it disorganized, drove out the merchants who infested the camp, restored discipline, compelled his soldiers to drill, and then renewed the siege (147 B.C.).

He attacked the city on the side towards the isthmus, entered by night through a gate opened to him by a traitor, and established himself in the suburb of Megara. Then he evacuated the city, burned his camp, and cut the isthmus by a ditch and two walls, so as to isolate Carthage by land. The Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal, had entered Carthage with his army; against the wish of the senate he immediately took charge and had the Roman prisoners massacred.

Carthage was still receiving her provisions by sea. Scipio, wishing to starve her into submission, tried to cut off her communication by water. Carthage had two harbors, one behind the other; the outer harbor was for commerce and opened toward the southeast; the inner harbor was for time of war, and was smaller and more sheltered, with a little round island in the middle and accommodations for two hundred and twenty ships. Scipio had a stone pier built across the entrance to the harbor. But by the time he had finished closing up the harbor, the Carthaginians had dug a canal across the tongue of land and sent their ships out through it on the north shore.

Scipio kept up the siege until winter, hoping to gain possession of the quay. In the spring of 146 B.C. the Carthaginians were suffering from hunger; they were reduced to eating the bodies of the dead, and many of them surrendered. The Romans finally assaulted the city and succeeded in reaching the market-place. In the steep and narrow streets which led to the citadel they fought for six days and six nights, until Scipio set fire to that quarter of the city. On the seventh day the besieged surrendered. Scipio promised to spare their lives and sold them into slavery.

Hasdrubal had taken refuge in a temple with a thousand Roman deserters who could hope for no mercy. Hasdrubal gave himself up, but the deserters set fire to the temple and all perished. Scipio spared Hasdrubal and a number of notables to march in his triumphal procession.

We are told that Hasdrubal's wife was indignant at his

cowardice. She led her children up to the burning temple and cried to him: "Go then and adorn the triumph of the conqueror!" Then she killed her two children and threw herself into the fire.

The fire lasted seventeen days. Then the senate gave orders to destroy Carthage. The walls and buildings were torn down, and the ground ploughed up, and a priest pronounced a curse on whosoever should occupy the soil (146 B.C.).

Rome retained the territory that had belonged to Carthage and made of it the province of Africa.

Conquest of Macedonia and Greece.—A certain Andriscus appeared in Macedonia with a small Thracian army, and declared himself to be Philip, son of Perseus, escaped from the Romans. He roused the Macedonians to his support, and a war ensued which lasted two years. One Roman army was defeated, but the second overcame Andriscus and took him prisoner (148 B.C.). The senate kept Macedonia and made it a Roman province (146 B.C.).

In Greece the Achæan general excited the democratic party of Corinth against Rome and gathered a small army. The Roman governor of Macedonia put it to rout. The Corinthians tried to defend the isthmus. The consul Mummius scattered them and, entering Corinth without resistance, sold the inhabitants into slavery, sacked the city, and destroyed it (146 B.C.).

Corinth, the richest city in Greece, was filled with statuary and pictures; her vases of carved metal were said to be the most beautiful in the world. All these works of art were sent to Rome.

It was said that the rough and ignorant Roman soldiers used as gambling-boards the pictures of the famous artist, Apelles, without suspecting their value.

It was also said that Mummius, the consul, when handing over these masterpieces to the people who were to take them to Rome, bade them be very careful, adding that should any harm come to them, they would be obliged to replace them.

The governor of Macedonia was henceforth charged with

supervision of the Greeks. In all the Greek cities Rome gave the government offices to the rich, who favored Roman rule.

Wars against the Ligurians.—The mountains about the Gulf of Genoa were inhabited by the Ligurians, a race of poor shepherds and warriors. Assisted by their neighbors, the Cisalpine Gauls, they resisted Rome for half a century. More than one Roman army had great difficulty in escaping from a surrounding band of Ligurians. Several times Rome sent against them both consuls with four legions. To make an end of the trouble, Rome transported forty thousand Ligurians into Samnium, gave them land and made them settle there.

The Romans were not fond of the open sea. The ships which bore their troops to Spain, instead of cutting across the Mediterranean, followed the coast along past Liguria and Gaul; otherwise the troops went all the way by land. Often the Ligurians attacked them on their way and pillaged their baggage. The Romans therefore felt the necessity of controlling the road along the coast. They began by driving the Ligurians back into the mountains. Then, little by little, they conquered their country back to the Alps.

Spanish Wars.—In Spain the Romans had at first assured the people that they came only to deliver them from the Carthaginians; Scipio had given them hostages who were kept as prisoners in Carthagera, and had concluded treaties of alliance (210 B.C.).

When the war was over Rome left in Spain two governors, each with an army, one in the northeast, the other in the southwest; they occupied the coast of the plain of Guadiana (Bætica), which was inhabited by peaceful people. The interior remained independent, divided among small mountain peoples, the Iberians. The women worked and tilled the soil, while the men went to war; they were brave, sober, and very proud; those who were captured killed themselves rather than become slaves.

The Roman governors, who were appointed for only one year, tried to employ that year in making some expedition that would either bring them great booty or give them a chance to ask for a triumphal procession. Often, without any other motive, they attacked one of the Roman allies and Rome found herself involved in a war. It was not easy to find soldiers for these wars, for the Italians were unwilling to fight in this mountain country, where campaigning was full of privations and hardships and booty rare, the generals usually keeping the money and slaves for themselves.

These Spanish wars lasted for more than seventy years. In the early years the Romans were on the point of being driven out and they lost a number of armies.

Their most stubborn enemies were the Celtiberians, a race combining Iberians and Celts (Gauls), settled on the plateau above the cliffs which descended into the Mediterranean. They fought chiefly on foot with a heavy, two-edged sword, arranging themselves in the form of a wedge. It was impossible to tell where to expect them, as they had no towns.

In 179 B.C. Sempronius restored peace by inspiring confidence in the Celtiberians; they made terms with him, promising to recognize the supremacy of the Roman people; this meant that they should not make war on Rome, that they should furnish warriors to serve as auxiliaries and even pay a contribution. Rome, on her part, promised to defend them and to let them govern themselves.

The successors of Sempronius violated this treaty, and the Celtiberians made a complaint. The senate ordered an investigation, and two of the magistrates disappeared into exile.

At last, in 154 B.C., a number of tribes revolted at once. The war, which lasted twenty years, began in the northeast. The Arevaci, one of the Celtiberian peoples, were building a wall, when the consul ordered them to stop; they refused, and he attacked them. A neighboring people came to their assistance; the consul was taken by surprise and lost six

thousand men. Three Roman armies were defeated one after the other. No one would enlist in the Roman army, not even as an officer.

Viriathus.—At the same time the Lusitanians, in the mountains of the northwest (the Portugal of to-day), revolted, massacred two Roman armies, and sent their standards to the Celtiberians. After two years of war, a Roman general named Galba offered to give them lands; they accepted the offer. Galba divided them into three bodies, and persuaded them to lay down their arms; he then surrounded and massacred them (150 B.C.).

Viriathus, a mountaineer who escaped slaughter, became chief, and won fame by his victories. He was, it is said, a shepherd, accustomed to mountain-climbing, daring, an agile horseman, and born to command. For six years he defeated the Romans.

One day he, with his horsemen, saved a Lusitanian army, trapped the Roman army in a mountain-pass and massacred both soldiers and general. He also destroyed an army sent by the Spanish allies of Rome.

After two more victories he set up on a mountain, as a trophy, the mantles of the Roman generals and the fasces of their lictors. Rome sent a consul against him with two legions. Viriathus again carried the day (143 B.C.). Another time he surprised an army with elephants, killed three thousand men, and besieged the rest in the Roman camp (142 B.C.).

He worked his way into a besieged fortress, from which he made a sortie, drove the Roman soldiers back among the rocks, seized them and then, after signing a treaty with the general, released them. This treaty declared the Lusitanians independent and Viriathus the friend of the Roman people (141 B.C.).

The Romans immediately resumed the war, this time calling on the friends of Viriathus to assassinate him. Viriathus was on his guard, sleeping little and always armed;



but some friends came under pretext of negotiating with him and stabbed him in his tent.

The Lusitanians were conquered, driven into the mountains, and disarmed (139 B.C.).

Numantian War.—In the north of Spain war broke out again after ten years of peace. The Arevaci, a small Celtiberian tribe, for ten years held all the Roman armies in check. They had but one small city, Numantia, protected only by a moat, a palisade, and an army of a few thousand men. They asked for nothing but peace; they even offered an indemnity and hostages. The Roman general, Metellus, demanded the surrender of their arms, and this they refused (141 B.C.).

The Roman soldiers were suffering not only from cold but from hunger, for they had laid waste the surrounding country, and the enemy captured all their convoys of provisions. A new general, Pompeius, offered to make peace. The Numantians returned their prisoners, and also all Roman deserters and hostages; they were assured possession of their arms (140 B.C.).

A third general, the consul Popilius, declared the treaty void, attacked the Numantians and was defeated (139 B.C.).

A new general, Mancinus, was even more unfortunate. His soldiers, believing that two neighboring peoples were coming to aid Numantia, took fright, escaped from their camp, and took refuge in an old abandoned camp. Here the enemy surrounded them and they surrendered. The Numantians let them go, but made Mancinus and his officers swear to accept a treaty recognizing the independence of Numantia (137 B.C.). The senate refused to accept the treaty and voted to deliver Mancinus to the Numantians. Mancinus, naked and manacled, was accordingly led to Numantia; the Numantians refused to accept him, and the next day he returned to the Roman camp.

Rome finally sent against Numantia her most famous

general, Scipio,¹ the destroyer of Carthage. He began by reorganizing the Roman army. He drove out the camp-followers, merchants, and soothsayers who encumbered the camp; he took away the soldiers' pack-animals, chariots, beds, all their furniture, leaving each only a copper vessel, a spit, and a drinking-horn, and making them sleep on the ground as he did. He made them work; dig ditches and fill them up again, build walls and tear them down again, and make long marches on foot, carrying their arms and baggage.

In this way he spent a whole summer. Then he took his position before Numantia, in two camps. He had an army of sixty thousand men, but he did not want to risk a battle; he preferred to starve the enemy into submission.

Numantia was situated on a cliff overlooking the Douro, which at this point had not yet reached its full breadth. Provisions and news were brought to the besieged city by divers. Scipio blocked the river with booms armed with blades of swords and points of lances. On the land side he built a thick wall, enforced by a double ditch. Then he waited.

One dark night messengers succeeded in leaving Numantia to seek aid from the neighboring tribes. The young men of one city prepared to answer the appeal, but Scipio suddenly appeared with his soldiers, seized four hundred of their notables, and cut off their hands.

The Numantians, entrapped and starving, asked for a battle; Scipio refused. They were reduced to eating the bodies of the dead. At length, rather than surrender, they killed one another, so that Scipio found only fifty to adorn his triumphal procession. Without waiting for orders, he razed the city, leaving no trace to show where it had stood (133 B.C.).

This was the last war of subjugation in Spain.

¹ He had been surnamed the African (Scipio Africanus Minor), as his adopted grandfather had been called Africanus.

Conquest in Gaul.—The Greek city of Massilia (Marseilles), which had long been the ally of Rome, had to defend her coast colonies against the Alpine mountaineers. It became necessary for the Romans, on their way to Spain, to control the road along the coast. Rome and Massilia formed an alliance.

The Romans aided Massilia in her wars, defeated the peoples who occupied the neighboring shores (154–122 B.C.), and forbade them to come within fifteen hundred paces of a harbor or within one thousand paces of the shore. In the conquered territory they founded a colony, Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), the most ancient Roman city in Gaul (122 B.C.).



DYING GAUL (CAPITOL).

A chief belonging to the conquered tribes took refuge with the Allobroges, an important Gallic people inhabiting the Alps (the modern *Dauphiné*). The Roman consul tried to make them give him up, but they refused. The consul attacked them near the Rhone and killed twenty thousand of them (121 B.C.). The Allobroges called on their allies, the *Arverni*, who inhabited the Cevennes (the modern Auvergne).

The king of the Arverni, Bituitus, descended to the Rhone with his army. He gave battle to the Romans near the

junction of the Isère and the Rhone. His soldiers were either slain or drowned in the river; he himself escaped, but was captured as a traitor and led to Rome in chains (120 B.C.).

This Bituitus was said to be of gigantic stature; he fought on a silver chariot, surrounded by a pack of ferocious dogs, and leading an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. When he saw the small size of the Roman army, he cried: "There are only enough there to make a meal for my dogs."

The senate now made the country of the Allobroges a province, reaching from Lake Lemane to the sea. Later it was extended across the Rhone to the Pyrenees; and on this side the Romans founded another colony, Narbonensis (118 B.C.). Thus was established the province of Gallia Narbonensis, the modern Provence.

*** The Slave Revolt in Sicily.**—While Rome was thus cementing her power in the west, there had arisen a grave danger nearer home. The land swarmed with slaves. Æmilius Paulus had taken captive and sold one hundred and fifty thousand of them. Fifty thousand Carthaginians had been similarly treated. The condition and treatment of such slaves is described in Chapter XII.

At last two hundred thousand of them in Sicily revolted, and under a leader named Eunus were able to withstand the armies of Rome for three years. The rebellion was finally quelled in 132 B.C. Thousands of slaves were crucified, much to the disgust of their masters, who objected to the loss of so much valuable property.

*** The Province of Asia.**—Meantime there had been another and peaceful acquisition of territory. The last king of Pergamum, in the northwest of Asia Minor, left his kingdom by will to the Roman people. There was but slight resistance to the transfer, and the country was organized as the province of Asia. This province, of small extent, must be carefully distinguished from Asia as a geographic division¹ (B.C. 133).

¹ "Asia" as used in the New Testament, Acts xvi. 6; xix. 10, 22, 26, refers to this province.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE RESULTS OF CONQUEST.

NEW MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Hellenism at Rome.—Up to the third century before Christ, the Romans were a race of peasants, merchants, and soldiers. All, even the wealthy, were occupied simply with farming, commerce, or war. They read almost nothing, and knew neither literature, science, art, nor philosophy.

After conquering the eastern countries inhabited by the Greeks, their life underwent a great change. Thousands of Greeks, brought as slaves or who had come to seek their fortune,—physicians, actors, professors, soothsayers,—settled at Rome and mingled with the Romans. Thousands of Roman soldiers and merchants lived for years in the East among strangers.

In this way the Romans became acquainted with new customs and ideas and gradually gave up their old ways to adopt those of the Greeks. This we call the introduction into Rome of Hellenism (imitation of the Hellenes).

TRANSFORMATION IN MODE OF LIVING.

Dwellings.—The old Roman house was low, having but one story, and consisted of a single building between the street and the court behind; the foundations were built of stone, the walls of unbaked brick with a coating of clay and straw. Inside, the rooms were divided by partitions of laths, and paved with pebbles, clay, and bits of pottery.

There were two doors, one opening on the street, the other on the court. The great door, that on the street, led into a vestibule, thence into the *atrium*, or main hall; in the middle of the atrium, between four wooden pillars, was the *compluvium*, a square opening framed in the ceiling to let in the light, with a basin to catch the rain.

All around the atrium were built little rooms, whitewashed and unfurnished. In one corner stood the hearth, sacred to the *penates*, the *lar* (house-god), and the conjugal bed.

The family spent most of their time in the atrium; the master of the house had his armchair there, the mistress her loom, and the household cupboard and chest. Here the Roman family ate its meals and received its guests.

The second century before Christ saw the hearth relegated to a special room. The nobles and the rich merchants even began to build Greek houses, with a dining-hall, library, bath-room, and apartments reserved for the women. They had more elegant furniture, bronze beds, silver dishes, and carpets (see on page 350 the description of a Greek house).

Dress.—The ancient Romans wore ordinarily but one garment, the tunic, which was of wool, sewed together, and without fastenings. The men's tunic, held in place by a girdle about the hips, reached to the knee; the women's tunic, fastened about the breast, fell to the ground.

On ceremonious occasions a Roman wore over his tunic a toga, a long garment of white wool, draped about the body and reaching to the ground. In the country, men worked without a tunic, wearing simply a linen girdle with an apron reaching to the knees. The Roman also wore a felt hat, leather sandals, and an iron ring on his left hand.

After the conquest, the Romans gradually adopted a more complicated dress; they imported finer materials, of linen, cotton, and wool, from the Greeks and Orientals, and had their garments richly trimmed. The women began to wear the Greek robe, the Greek girdle, the Greek mantle, the

wide-sleeved tunic, the fillet, and the Greek hood; the men borrowed the boots and the shoes.



FEMALE DRESS.

Food.—The ancient Romans ate but little and always coarse food. They had but one real meal, which they ate at midday (*cæna*), consisting of porridge (after the fifth century, bread) and either fresh or pickled fruit. They ate sitting down, either with a spoon or with their fingers, the food spread on a bare wooden table. For company a plate of meat was added, or perhaps fish, eggs, beans, or onions, and a sort of dessert made of fruits and pastry; also a jug of spiced wine or must and water to drink. The women never drank wine. Meat was rarely eaten except after a sacrifice on feast-days.

In the morning, whether at home or at work, the Roman breakfast (*jentaculum*) consisted of bread and cheese. The evening meal was unleavened bread, with nuts, fruit, and a little wine.

After the conquest, the Romans, at least the wealthy,

adopted a more varied and choice diet. They began to eat two meals, *prandium*, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, *cæna* in the afternoon, and to make these meals more elaborate. They had meat at every one, fresh fish, oysters, and game; also rich wines, either Falernian from Campania or of Greek importation. They adopted another Greek custom, that of spending the evening—often the night—drinking at their friends' houses.

Women and children continued to sit while eating. But for the men, in wealthy houses, there were couches, after the Greek fashion; on each bed lay three guests, who, when they raised themselves to eat, rested their elbows on a square table placed before them. The couches occupied three sides of the table, the fourth side being left for the service.

Sometimes guests were crowned with a wreath of leaves, as in Greece, while musicians and dancers were provided for their entertainment.

Occupations.—The ancient Roman led a very monotonous existence. He rose very early, in winter before dawn. After washing, he made his prayer to the god of the morning (*Matutinus*), then went to his work and worked all day except for the noon meal hour. The men spent the day in the fields; the women stayed in the house, weaving the woolen thread which their servants spun.

The country people went to the city only for the market, which was held every nine days. They took their grain, fruits, and cattle to sell, and bought little but articles of metal or clay and pottery. Every farmer manufactured his own flour, bread, farming implements, wagons, baskets, rope, and even his house; the women wove cloth and made the clothing.

Amusements were very rare; two or three great games were held every year at Rome,—that is to say, a procession followed by a horse- or chariot-race; no dancing, except once or twice a year, in honor of a divinity; no pleasure-trips, for they had no vehicles but farm-wagons. All travelling was

done either on foot (or, in case of sickness, in a litter) over narrow, rough streets, paved with small stones; or, by water, on extremely slow barges.

After the conquest of the east life became more varied, at least for the rich. They moved from the country into the city, and indulged in the Greek forms of entertainment: banquets, shows, games, and even travelling. It became the custom to go to the seacoast during the hot season, especially to Baia, on the Bay of Naples.

TRANSFORMATION OF RELIGION.

Greek Religion.—The Romans had from early times learned to follow many of the beliefs and rites of the Greeks in Italy (see page 43). They worshipped several of the Greek divinities, Apollo, Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Proserpina, and Æsculapius.

This is how the worship of Æsculapius was introduced: Rome was suffering from a plague. The Sibylline books were consulted, and said that, in order to put an end to the pestilence, the god Æsculapius must be brought to Rome from the sanctuary of Epidaurus in Greece.

The senate sent ten envoys in a galley. Arriving at Epidaurus they asked permission of the inhabitants to take away their god; the council of the city in reply said "they would be permitted to receive whatever the god should grant them." The envoys accordingly went and prayed in the temple of Æsculapius. A huge serpent issued from the temple, passed through the city streets and, swimming to the galley, took possession of the cabin occupied by the envoys. The Romans, recognizing in this serpent the god they had come to find, set sail with him for Rome.

On the return voyage the ship was overtaken by a storm, and took refuge in the harbor of Antium. The serpent swam ashore to the temple of Apollo (Apollo was the father of Æsculapius), and remained there three days, his body wound about a palm-tree in the court; when the storm was over he returned to the ship. The ship passed up the Tiber to Rome; there the serpent plunged into the river and established himself on a small island. On this island was built the temple of Æsculapius.

After the conquest, the Romans finally merged their own

gods with the Greek gods. In each of the Roman gods they seemed to recognize a Greek god; they gave him the figure of this Greek god and credited him with the same history. This confusion was easy, because the Roman gods had had no history and no exact form.



ALTAR.

Jupiter was confounded with Zeus, Juno with Hera, Minerva with Pallas Athene, Diana with Artemis, Vulcan with Hephæstus, Mercury with Hermes, Liber with Bacchus, Mars with Ares, Ceres with Demeter, Venus with Aphrodite. Thus the Latin gods were transformed into Greek gods, and it became the custom to designate the Greek gods by the Latin names; we still call Zeus Jupiter, Hera Juno, and so on.

Eastern Religions.—The Romans also began to practise some of the Eastern forms of religion. As early as 220 B.C., worshippers of the Egyptian god Serapis had a sanctuary in Rome. The senate ordered it to be torn down, but not a workman dared touch it; the consul himself at length struck the first blows of the axe on the door.

In 204, towards the end of the second Punic war, the senate, in obedience to an oracle, sent an embassy into Asia Minor in search of the Great Mother, the goddess of Pessinus, called by the Greeks Cybele, and represented by a black stone. The envoys brought her back with great ceremony and installed her in a temple at Rome. Her priests established themselves there, retaining their Oriental costume and their custom of marching through the streets with fifes and cymbals.

Later the senate adopted a Cappadocian goddess and built her a temple. She was worshipped under the name of an ancient Latin goddess, Bellona. Her devotees, however, preserved the custom, totally foreign to the Romans, of celebrating her festivals by mangling the face and body with a knife.

Many Chaldæan sorcerers and soothsayers came to Rome and practised the art of reading the future. In 140 B.C. the Chaldæan astrologers were expelled, but they invariably came back.

Weakness of Roman Beliefs.—Educated Greeks had ceased to believe in their old religion. Euhemerus, a Greek, had written a book declaring that the gods were simply men who were worshipped after death; he pretended to have seen an inscription which told the history of Zeus, the most powerful of the gods. Zeus, he said, was simply an ancient king of Crete. The book was a great success, and was translated into Latin by the poet Ennius.

The prominent men at Rome learned from associating with Greeks to scoff at the old religion. They continued to practise its rites, but repudiated its beliefs. Even the

Pontifex Maximus, Aurelius Cotta, said: "It is not easy to deny the gods in public, but it may be done in private." Later Lucretius wrote his famous poem on Nature to free men from the fear of the gods and to "deliver the soul from the bonds of superstition."

INTELLECTUAL TRANSFORMATION.

Literature and the Theatre.—The ancient Romans had neither books nor theatres. Some of the leading Romans who had fought in Greece became acquainted with Greek philosophy and letters, and acquired intellectual tastes. They began to speak Greek, at that time the language of all educated people. The first history of Rome was written in Greek by a Roman nobleman, Fabius Pictor. The perfect knowledge of Greek displayed by Flamininus in the war against Macedonia astounded the Greeks, who had expected to see ignorant barbarians. It soon became the fashion to speak Greek even in Rome. The Scipios surrounded themselves with philosophers. Æmilius Paulus set the fashion of having a library of Greek books in the house. (He had taken his from King Perseus.)

It was during this period that Livius Andronicus, a freed-man of Greek origin, began to translate Greek works, especially plays, into Latin. His example was quickly followed by others, and thus were laid the foundations of Latin literature. Greek plays were given in Latin in the public shows at Rome on feast-days. Two of these translators were Plautus and Terence.

The Romans were still too uncultivated to find much enjoyment in so refined a pleasure. When Hecyra, one of Terence's comedies, was produced, the spectators would not wait for the end, so eager were they to see the wild beasts in the circus. Little by little, however, the people grew accustomed to literary spectacles.

The audience had been obliged to stand, but the censors

built a stone theatre with graded seats. The senators ordered it torn down, to show, they said, "that the Romans had enough energy to stand even through their entertainments."



A ROMAN PLAY.

Arts.—In accordance with the Roman custom, the Roman generals brought back what they found of most value in vanquished Greece,—statues, pictures, and bronzes. The first of these treasures were brought to Rome by Marcellus after the taking of Syracuse.

The Roman nobles, seeing the value the Greeks set on these masterpieces, began to prize them, either through honest admiration or through vanity. They wanted to appear connoisseurs, and it became the fashion to collect pictures, statues, or Corinthian bronzes. Rome was soon filled with works of art. The Roman also adopted the fashion of having his house decorated with paintings, or a statue or bust of himself, dressed in the costume of a divinity, after the Greek fashion. It was also the custom to have Greek musicians perform during festivals, ceremonies, and banquets.

The Romans did not quickly become painters, sculptors, or even architects; the artists at work in Italy were all

Greeks. After a long time Roman artists arose, especially in the field of architecture.

Education.—The Roman boys of antiquity were taught physical exercise, outdoor work, cultivation of the land, and religious ceremonies; the sons of great families learned, in addition, their letters and figures. All that a girl needed to know was sewing and spinning.

But after the conquest this education seemed very insufficient. A number of Greeks opened schools in Rome and taught the children to read, write on tablets, and calculate according to the abacus, the Greek form of reckoning; later came grammar and music. The rich gave their children Greek slaves for tutors.

Teachers of philosophy and rhetoric also came to Rome to instruct the young men. This troubled the senate, and the philosophers and Latin rhetoricians were driven out. Later on a censor forbade the teaching of Latin rhetoric in Rome. However, it soon became the fashion, especially in noble families, to send young men to study in the great Greek schools at Rhodes and Athens. Greek philosophy and rhetoric were thus introduced among the educated classes.

The Romans retained a prejudice against music and dancing, which they regarded as fitted only for comedians, and not for sons of noble families. Scipio Æmilianus, who nevertheless loved the Greeks, said of a dancing school: "When it was told me I could not believe that nobles would have such things taught their children." Sallust said later of a Roman lady: "She plays the lyre and dances better than becomes an honest woman."

MORAL TRANSFORMATION.

Ancient Customs.—The ancient Roman modelled his whole conduct on one principle: to act according to the custom of his ancestors, to do as his fathers did before him.

His life was spent in working, fighting, and economizing, —a hard, sad, monotonous life.* The qualities he most admired were sobriety, economy, and a dignified bearing (*gravitas*). His ideal was a severe general and a solemn magistrate leading the life of a peasant. The following is an admiring description of the ancients written many years later:

Curius Dentatus, after defeating the Samnites, received their envoys at his small estate in the Sabine country, seated on a wooden bench and eating boiled turnips from a wooden bowl. They offered him gold, but he refused it, saying, "I would rather command those who have gold than have it myself."

Fabricius, who conquered Pyrrhus, had no dishes but a silver salt-cellar and a cup. When the Epirote envoy offered him money he passed his hands over his body from his eyes to his waist and said, "While this remains to me I need no other wealth." When he died he left his daughters so poor that the senate had to provide them with a dowry.

Growth of Luxury.—After the conquest the Romans began to find the "customs of their ancestors" painfully dull, and they longed for a life more rich and varied.

This was the beginning of luxury. The generals brought back to Rome a part of the gold, silver, jewels, and other treasures from the Greek countries. The Orientals were in the habit of living like kings, in the midst of costly furniture, golden vessels, precious stones, and numberless servants. The Romans brought home with them similar tastes.

It was natural that the Romans, suddenly enriched by the conquest of the richest countries of the time, should yield to the temptation of luxurious indulgence. They began to display their wealth in rich clothing, embroidered carpets, silver plate, and costly banquets. Those whose office obliged them to give public feasts added at their own expense shows of very harmful character.

The Romans had already adopted the Etruscan custom of gladiatorial contests, and later the Greek custom of acting comedies. For the public entertainment, wild beasts were brought from foreign lands and let loose in the circus, where

trained hunters were employed to kill them. This was called a hunt and was first introduced in 186 B.C., with lions and panthers for game. In 108 B.C. sixty-three panthers were killed in a single hunt.



ANIMAL FIGHT IN THE CIRCUS. (BAUMEISTER.)

Change in Condition of Women.—The Roman women of antiquity, even the rich, spent all their time within doors, busy with their servants. The most flattering thing that could be said of a woman was summed up in this famous epitaph: "She stayed at home and wove her wool." The husband had complete power over his wife; he could judge her and even condemn her to death. He also had the right to repudiate her, but this right was not supported by custom.

After the conquest the Roman women changed all this. They came out of their houses, and used chariots; they went

to the circus and the theatre, and began to dine in public. They began to practise foreign religions, especially the mysteries of Isis, the goddess of Egypt, or the ceremonies of Cybele. They remained ignorant and idle, but they became more free. A new form of marriage was instituted, whereby a woman was no longer made subject to the absolute control of her husband. She was also given the right to leave her husband. A marriage might be dissolved on complaint of either husband or wife. Divorce became more and more frequent, at least among the rich. In the first century marriage came to be regarded a merely temporary union: Sylla had five wives, Pompey five, Cæsar four; Hortensius divorced his wife to marry her to one of his friends.

Cato the Censor.—One man named Cato made himself famous by trying to compel the Romans to preserve the ancestral customs.

Cato was born about 232 B.C., at Tusculum, a small town in Latium; his family were peasant proprietors, and he had begun life as a farmer. According to custom he became a soldier at the age of seventeen and fought against Hannibal. He was a red-haired man, and blue-eyed, strong, brave, and eloquent. In the army he won esteem by his courage and his austerity. He went always on foot, carrying his arms, and drank no wine. In battle he stood firm at his post, striking vigorous blows and shouting, inspiring the enemy with terror.

When at home he lived as a peasant; he worked in the field, in winter wearing only a tunic, in summer without any outer garment, and ate with his slaves. Being something of an orator, he undertook to plead his neighbor's cases at Rome.

Valerius, a man of influence living near Cato's farm, became interested in him, and persuaded him to settle in Rome, where he helped him to become known.

Cato was elected tribune of the soldiers; then he was made quæstor and sent as paymaster with Scipio to Africa. He

found that his general was giving too much money to the soldiers, and showed him how he was encouraging them in expenses which were contrary to ancient customs. Scipio told him that "he had no need of so scrupulous a quæstor." Cato did not forget this rebuff, and on their return to Rome reported Scipio's extravagance and accused him of wasting money and losing time in frivolity.

Cato was elected prætor and sent as governor to Sardinia. It was customary for the governor to ask what he pleased of the inhabitants; wherever he went he was accompanied by a great troop of friends and servants, who must all be liberally provided for. Cato asked for none of these things; he made his journeys on foot, followed by one servant carrying his toga and his sacrificial utensils.

He was elected consul. A proposal was made in the assembly to repeal the law forbidding women to wear jewels or to ride in carriages. The Roman ladies came themselves to urge their friends to vote for the repeal. Cato insisted that the law should be retained, and made a famous speech against the women. "All other men," he said, "rule their wives; we Romans can rule men, but our wives rule us." The law was repealed, however, in spite of him.

Cato went to command the army in Spain. He captured and demolished four hundred fortresses. He divided the booty among his soldiers and kept none for himself. He even sold his horse before coming home in order to save the government the cost of transportation.

He was not fond of the Greeks. "When this race shall have invaded us through its literature," he said, "Rome will be lost." He was familiar with Greek, but throughout his expedition into Greece he refused to speak anything but Latin.

The Athenians, having an affair of importance to settle in Rome (155 B.C.), planned to send as envoys the heads of three of the leading schools of philosophy. While awaiting the decision of the senate, Carneades, the head of the School

of Plato (the Academy) and the most famous of these men, gave a series of public lectures, which were crowded by young Romans. His subject was justice and injustice; he said, if the Roman people had never been guilty of injustice, they would not have become masters of the world. Cato said to the senate: "We must decide the matter at once and get rid of these smooth-tongued men who can make us believe anything they will. Let them go and teach the Greek children. We will teach ours respect for the laws and the magistrates." The senate decided to dismiss the Greek orators.

On his return from Spain, Cato had been authorized to celebrate a triumph. This was the greatest honor that could be granted to a Roman, and usually a general who had been so honored would not consent to serve under the orders of another. Cato, however, took a subordinate command in the army sent against Antiochus.

Ten years after his election as consul, Cato was chosen censor, against the will of the nobles; the people desired him because of his severity.* His censorship was famous, and won him the surname of "the Censor." He struck a number of names from the list of senators as a punishment for luxury; he even degraded Lucius, brother of the great Scipio, and himself the conqueror of Antiochus. He assessed at ten times their value women's ornaments, garments, and carriages. He tore down all houses jutting out over the street, and cut the conduits bringing water from the public fountains into private houses. He farmed out the taxes at the highest possible price. The people showed their gratitude to Cato by erecting in his honor a statue with this inscription: "For having during his censorship strengthened the Roman Republic, which the change in customs and manners was hurrying to its ruin." He made many enemies, especially among the nobles, whom he accused of appropriating the public money and setting the example of

luxury. He was himself impeached (forty-four times, it is said) before the people, but was always acquitted.

Cato was devoted to his wife and son; he made a point of being with his wife when she washed and dressed the child. He undertook to educate the boy himself, teaching him grammar and law as well as riding, fighting, and swimming. He wrote for him an account of the exploits of the ancient Romans and a treatise on agriculture. He considered the acquisition of wealth a duty. "A widow," he said, "may decrease her fortune, but a man must increase his." He bought only low-priced slaves, and sold them when they were growing old, that he might not have to care for them. "It is a good plan," he said, "to sell old cattle, old junk, and old slaves. A good housekeeper is a seller, not a buyer." In his old age he found that agriculture was not a satisfactory investment and began to put his money into merchant-vessels.

Cato was the type of the ancient Roman, a good farmer, a good soldier, hard toward himself and toward others alike, honest and avaricious.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy	cc. xxxv, xxxvii.
Ihne	Bk. VI, cc. xii-xv.
Mommsen	Bk. III, cc. xii-xiv.
Botsford	c. vi, pp. 143-150.
How and Leigh	cc. xxviii, xxx.
Morey	cc. xviii, pp. 148-152.
Pelham	Bk. III, c. iii, pp. 192-198.
Shuckburgh	c. xxvi.
Guhl and Koner	<i>The Life of the Greeks and Romans.</i>
Taylor	<i>Constitutional and Political History of Rome</i> , cc. vii, viii.
Crutwell, C. T.	<i>History of Roman Literature</i> , c. i.

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION.

The Nobility.—There was no longer any difference between patrician and plebeian, but all Roman citizens were not equal. Roman society remained aristocratic.

At the head were the nobles. To be a noble a man must be descended from a magistrate, at the least. The magistracy at Rome was not merely a power, it was an honor. When his term of office expired the magistrate laid aside his power, but the honor he preserved and handed down to his descendants.

Every magistrate, ædile, prætor, or consul had a purple-bordered toga (*prætecta*), an ivory chair (curule chair), and the right to have his image made. These images were statues of wax, later of silver, invested with the emblems of magistracy. The image was placed in a niche near the hearth and the household gods, like an idol. When a member of a family died, the images of the dead man and of his ancestors, if noble, mounted on a chariot, led the funeral procession. The procession marched through the city to the public square and there, before the assembled multitude, a relative of the departed pronounced his eulogy, and reviewed the exploits and honors of the whole family. An image in the family was a badge of nobility, and the rank of a family increased in proportion to the number of its images. The common phrase was, “noble by one image,” “noble by so many images.”

Ordinarily the people chose their magistrates from among the nobility, so that the images accumulated in the same families. There were not three hundred noble families in Rome, but they alone formed the senate and exercised all the powers. In the theatre the nobles took first place.

The Equestrian Order.—The second class was called the equestrian order, or class of knights.

To serve as a horseman in the Roman army had always been a privilege reserved for the wealthy; the horsemen formed a class by themselves. After the second century Roman citizens were no longer to be found in the cavalry (the horsemen being all Italian allies or foreigners), but the term knight (*eques*) continued to be applied to all those whose fortune exceeded the limit formerly set for admission to the mounted service; this was 400,000 sesterces (\$20,000).

The ancient Romans had had but little money and few ways of making it. The conquest opened to them, in the second century before Christ, the opportunity of rapidly acquiring fortunes.

Silver and gold taken from the conquered countries were brought to Rome either for the public treasury or for the nobles. Money became very plentiful in Rome, and could be borrowed at four or five per cent; in the conquered countries it was scarce and could not be borrowed under twelve per cent. It became a lucrative business to borrow money in Rome and lend it among the Greeks in the East, especially to the kings and the municipalities. There were money-changers in Rome who had stalls in the public squares; they became bankers and grew rich by speculation.

In the conquered countries the Romans reserved the control of the silver-mines, the customs duties, the ports, and the public lands (see page 179). But they had no authorized agents. They farmed out the collection of the public revenues to men known as publicans. The rights in each sort of business in each country were sold to a syndicate of wealthy citizens, also the right to work the mines, to collect

the customs in the ports, to levy taxes in a province. The publicans made enormous profits.

Commerce also had become a profitable business, commerce by sea in particular. Ships were fitted out and sent in search of cargoes of grain, lumber, or slaves to bring to Italy.

Senators were forbidden by law to take part in tax-farming, banking, or commerce. The knights were the men of business; they had no part in the government, but they accumulated large fortunes. In the theatre fourteen rows of seats behind the senators were reserved for them.

When a knight was elected to a magistracy he ceased to be a knight, and became a senator. The nobles called him a "new man" and his son was noble (by a single image).

Plebs.—The *plebs* included all those citizens who were neither nobles nor knights. There was still in Latium and in the Sabine country a peasant class, descended from the Latins and Sabines who had been early conquered by Rome and admitted to her citizenship. The number of peasants was, however, steadily decreasing (see page 178).

On the other hand, Rome as she developed into a great city, had been filled by a new population, the urban *plebs*. These were descendants of the peasants who had left the country and settled in the city. Others were descendants of foreigners, who, brought to Rome as slaves, had been freed by their masters and become citizens.

These people, for the most part, lived in great poverty, having no means of making a living. The lucrative positions belonged to the knights, and the lower ranks were filled by slaves and foreigners.

These wretches were nevertheless a privileged class, for they were Roman citizens. They had the right to protection by Roman law, to contract a marriage giving absolute control of wife and children, and to acquire property. After 454 B.C. they could not be beaten with rods or condemned to death without appeal by any magistrate. They could

enlist in the legions, vote in the assembly of the people, and take part in festivals and public shows. The sign of their privilege was the toga, the robe of white wool which only citizens could wear.

Slaves.—Before the conquest every Roman worked in his own field; great landowners had their farms cultivated by clients rather than by slaves.

As Rome subjugated new peoples, slaves became more numerous. All persons taken in war, not only the prisoners of war, but the inhabitants of captured cities, men, women, and children, belonged to the conqueror; this was the custom among the ancients, and the Romans enforced it rigorously. The captives were a part of the booty and were sold to slave-dealers. These merchants also dealt in stolen children and men taken by pirates or even brigands.

The slaves were almost all foreigners,—Greeks and Orientals, or western barbarians, Gauls, Iberians, and Sardinians. Rome had a market for slaves as well as for cattle. The slaves to be sold, men and women alike, were exposed on a platform; attached to the neck was a statement of age, race, good and bad qualities. The purchaser became their master; he might sell them again or bequeath them to his heirs. Children born of a slave woman were slaves like their mother.

The slave belonged to his master, like a piece of furniture or a lower animal. He had no rights; he could not call anything his own, nor enjoy the privileges of husband and father. He must obey his master; whatever he was commanded he was bound to do, and must satisfy every whim, even to the commission of a crime. It was the Roman theory that a slave had no soul and no duty but obedience. The master had absolute control over his slave; he sent him wherever he pleased, made him work as long as he pleased, even beyond his powers, fed him as he pleased, and might beat him, imprison him, torture him, or kill him, as he wished, without being responsible to any one. Should the

slave resist or run away, the state aided the master to subdue



A SLAVE SCOURGED.

or capture him, and the freeman who sheltered a fugitive slave was held as guilty of theft as if he had appropriated a stolen horse.

Labor in the fields was performed by "country slaves": farm hands, shepherds, vine-dressers, and gardeners. Every owner of a great estate had it cultivated by a band of slaves, under an overseer who was commonly himself a slave.

The country slaves were the most badly treated and ill fed of all. Many worked with irons on their feet. At night they were shut up in an underground prison, the *ergastula*, lighted by high, narrow windows. When a master wanted to punish a slave he sent him into the country.

Still more awful than the country was the mill. The ancients had not learned to employ the force of wind or water, and all their grain had to be ground by hand-mills; this was a deadening form of labor, like that in the French galleys or the English treadmill. The comic poet Plautus writes thus of the mill: "There wept the unhappy ill-fed slaves, amid the noise of whips and the clanking of chains."

The "city slaves" were those employed in the master's personal service. The Romans, following the Oriental fashion, took pride in surrounding themselves with a host of servants. In rich houses there were sometimes hundreds of them, each detailed to his special service; slaves of the wardrobe and personal attendants; slave cooks and waiters,

and slaves in charge of the silver plate; slaves to take care of the furniture; slaves of the bath; a personal escort of slaves for the master and the mistress; litter-bearers; coachmen and grooms; readers and secretaries; slave musicians and actors; slave physicians and surgeons. The nurses and tutors were also slaves.



A WRITER AND HIS IMPLEMENTS.

The city slaves included also the slave tailors, shoemakers, masons, carpenters, and artisans of all sorts, who supplied the wants of their master, his family and his slaves; for among the great Roman families almost everything was made in the house: bread, clothing, and shoes. Some masters

even had their slaves manufacture articles and gave them to their merchant slaves to sell. Others sent their slaves out for hire as masons, sailors, copyists, actors, hair dressers, and cooks.

The treatment of slaves depended on the character of their master. Wise and humane masters took good care of their slaves, allowed them to have a humble household of their own, to amass a little fortune, even to possess other slaves. Capricious and ill-natured masters treated their slaves like animals, beating and mutilating them, and killing them without cause. A freedman of Augustus had some fish in a pond; one of his slaves being so unfortunate as to break a vase, he had him thrown in the pond to feed the fishes. The modes of punishment were very severe. If a slave committed a petty theft, he was suspended by the neck from a fork. If he ran away, his face was branded with hot irons. If he committed a crime, he was crucified.

Under this system of terror, excessive labor, or enforced idleness the slaves became either taciturn and ferocious or cowardly and humble. Many killed themselves. The rest were finally reduced to an animal existence. Cato said that he loved to see a slave sleep. "The slave must either work or sleep."

This life stifled all feelings of pride and courage. The word *servile* (pertaining to a slave) thus came to mean contemptible.

The master had the right to free his slave. The freed slave still owed obedience to his master, but he became a Roman citizen. There was a distinction between the freedman and the born citizen; the former could not receive honors or enter the army. Even his children were not admitted to the full privileges of citizenship, though in the course of time the distinction faded quite away.

The Census.—Every five years the Romans undertook the great work of taking the census, in order to fix the rank of each citizen. The work was in charge of two censors,

chosen from among the former consuls; this office was regarded as the most honorable of all.¹

The censor first convoked all the citizens on the Campus Martius and announced to them his mode of procedure. The citizens must then come in person before the censor; only the sick and aged were excused. The censor stood in the open air with his registers, on the Campus Martius. Each citizen presented himself in his turn and, swearing to tell the truth, gave his name, age, country, tribe, father's name, and the number of years he had served in the army; he stated the amount of his fortune, valued in silver. All this the censor entered on his register. He had the right to raise the valuation given, if he believed it understated. He might also insert a note if he believed the citizen was not conducting himself as he should. He made a note of any citizen who had been cowardly in war, or insolent, or too brutal towards his wife and children; who neglected the cultivation of his land, or did not celebrate the religious festivals with regularity, or spent too much on his table. The censor's note dishonored the name against which it was written.

In this way the censor drew up the list of citizens and divided them into thirty-five tribes. Usually he placed each citizen in the tribe he already belonged to, but he had the right to change him into another tribe and thus change the value of his vote and even to omit his name from all of them as a form of degradation which deprived him of the rights of a citizen.

The censor drew up a list of knights, with power to

[¹ The censorship was established in 443 B.C. After 351 one censor might be a plebeian, and a little later one must be and both might be. Censors were elected in the centuriate comitia at intervals of four or five years and were required to complete their work within eighteen months. Consuls and prætors could not revise their action, and a tribune rarely vetoed it. The censor was entitled to the curule chair and the purple toga, but, not having the imperium, was not attended by lictors; nor could he convoke the senate or the comitia.]

degrade a knight by omitting his name. The censor also made a list of the senators. He took the list of the preceding census, and added to it the names of those who had since been elected magistrates, often finishing off the list with the



CITIZENS REGISTERING.

names of certain other persons, always nobles. He had also the right to strike the name of any senator from the list. One senator was degraded because he possessed ten pounds of silver plate, another for repudiating his wife, another for neglecting the tombs of his ancestors.

This right of degrading any citizen gave the censors mastery over the honor of every individual, no matter how exalted. The censors were thereby enabled to preserve ancient customs; their government was called the government of customs.

The census completed, the censors called together all the people for the great religious ceremony of purification (*lustratio*). On the appointed day all the citizens assembled on the Campus Martius, each in his rank. The three expiatory victims, a bull, a sheep, and a hog (the *suovetaurilia*), were led three times around the assemblage, and then sacrificed to Mars, the protecting deity of Rome; this ceremony was believed to purify the city. After promising

to Mars a similar sacrifice on the occasion of the next *lustratio*, the censor led the people to the city gates and there dismissed them. He then drove a nail into the temple in memory of the ceremony, deposited there the census lists, and resigned his power.



THE SUOVETAURILIA. (BAUMEISTER.)

A Session of the Senate.—The senate was composed of all those who had previously been magistrates, which meant the wealthiest and most noble in Rome. It had grown to be the real head of the government without, however, departing from ancient forms: it could not call itself together nor give an order, being in principle but the advisory council of the magistrates.

When a magistrate wished to consult the senate he convoked it by crier. Before the senators assembled he made a sacrifice to assure himself of the favor of the gods. The senators met in a temple, usually the *Curia Hostilia* in the Forum, a very plain whitewashed building with wooden benches. The senate was forbidden by religion to meet in any but a sacred place. The magistrates sat on their curule chairs, the senators on the wooden benches. The hall was left open, but the public was not permitted to enter.

The presiding magistrate opened the meeting with an

address, in which he made the desired communications to the senate, beginning with religious matters; he read letters from the generals or the governors, then gave audience to foreign envoys, and to magistrates or senators who had reports to make.

He then brought up the question on which he wished to consult the senate, beginning with these words: "In the interest of the Roman people, conscript fathers, we submit this matter to you," and ending with these: "What is to be done about this?"

The presiding officer questioned the senators one by one, in the order of official seniority (consuls, prætors, ædiles, tribunes, quæstors). The form of question was: "Speak, so and so." Each, answering from his place, either rose and explained the reasons for his opinion, or remained seated, saying that he seconded the advice of a certain colleague. Ordinarily only those first called on spoke, the others merely advocating an opinion already given. A quicker plan was finally adopted: the magistrate said, "Let those who are of this opinion stand on the right." (The hall was cut in two by a passage.) The senators divided and were counted. The senators of the lowest rank, those who had not been magistrates, never spoke; they simply took their places on one side or the other; they were called *pedani* (or *pedarii*, those who vote with the feet). The magistrate dismissed the senate by saying: "Conscript fathers, we will detain you no longer."

In later days the decree of the senate (*senatus consultum*) had to be drawn up in the presence of two senators.

The Forum.—The political life of Rome was centred in the Forum, the market-place between the Palatine and Capitoline hills. It was a small place for so large a city and was still further reduced by the encroachment of monuments. On the east stood the Curia Hostilia, where the sittings of the senate were held; on the south, the little round temple of Vesta which sheltered the sacred hearth of the city (see

page 4c), and the temple of Castor and Pollux, built near the spring where the two gods were said to have been seen washing their arms (see page 56); on the west, a row of shops; on the north, the rostrum and the column built in honor of Duilius; not to mention the statues all over the square.

Here the assembly of tribes, or *comitia tributa*, usually met, on market days, when the peasants came to town. A magistrate, commonly a tribune of the plebs, presided. He addressed the citizens, who were assembled in a confused multitude; he explained the question on which they were to vote, and asked for an opinion. The orator stood on the *rostrum*, a square space consecrated by auspices and raised a little above the level of the market-place. It was called the rostrum because the front of it was decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of the Antiate ships.

To make himself heard by the assembly, which was often very noisy, the orator spoke in loud tones and gesticulated violently; he sometimes walked about on the platform while speaking.

Elections.—A man who wished to be elected to a magistracy had to make a declaration. Then, on each market day, he must come and stand on an elevated platform so that every one might see him; he wore a white toga called the *candida*, whence came the name "candidate." He spoke with the market people, shook hands, called them by name, and asked them to vote for him.

The Forum having become too small for the elections, the assemblies, even the assemblies by tribes, voted on the Campus Martius. In the ancient assemblies by centuries all the centuries voted at once, except one century chosen by lot to vote first.

In the morning of an election day the citizens assembled on the Campus Martius. Here there was a great open space surrounded by a wooden fence like a sheepfold; this was called the *ovile*. The citizens entered this space and

arranged themselves in tribes and centuries. Each was given a wooden tablet on which he wrote the names of his candidates. One by one they filed across a narrow bridge,



VOTING.

dropping their tablets into an urn as they passed. This system had been established only in 139 B.C.; prior to that date the citizen, as he passed, declared in a loud tone the name of the candidate for whom he voted. (See Appendix A.)

Career of Honors.—At Rome a magistracy was termed an *honor*, not a profession. The magistrate received no salary; on the contrary, he had to spend money to win the election. Even after his election he had to spend a good deal, being obliged to give feasts to the people at his own expense.

The magistrates were always rich men and usually nobles. The nobles supported one another and easily made themselves known to the voters. The limit of age for candidacy to each office, and the order in which the offices might be sought, had been definitely fixed. Every candidate must first have served ten campaigns in the army.

At the age of twenty-five he could be elected quæstor, or

paymaster; then tribune of the people, having the right to call the people together; or ædile, director of police and commissariat in Rome; next prætor, administrator of justice, or governor of a province; then consul, or governor of the republic and commander of the army; finally censor (at the minimum age of fifty), in charge of the list of citizens and the celebration of the *lustratio*.

Thus the same man was in turn paymaster, administrator, judge, general, and statesman. This series of offices was called the "career of honors." Each office was of one year's tenure, and each progressive step required a new election.

Provincial Administration.—The original Roman government had been designed only for the city and its bit of outlying territory. A new system was necessary for the countries the Romans had conquered.

In Italy, when the Romans had subjugated a people, they did not take the trouble to administer it, but were content with demanding soldiers and sometimes money and leaving to each people its own government and laws. These peoples were of various descriptions, colonies whose inhabitants were Roman citizens, Latin colonies, allied cities, and free cities. Rome did not need to send out officials; the Roman magistrates were sufficient to govern all Italy.

When Rome made conquests outside of Italy, she began by sending to each country a special magistrate, a prætor, who was to assume the government. A country subject to such a governor was called a province. The oldest of the provinces were the countries taken from Carthage: Sicily, Sardinia, and the two Spanish provinces. As the number of provinces increased, in order to avoid creating new magistrates it became the custom to send out a magistrate, consul, or prætor, as soon as he completed his term of office in Rome. His power was thus prolonged, but only in his province, for he was no longer consul (or prætor) but proconsul (or proprætor).

At the expiration of his term as consul, the proconsul left Rome. Wearing a martial cloak and accompanied by a military escort, he marched directly to his province by a road designated in advance. Once in his province his power was absolute (the *imperium*) like that of the early Roman kings, and he exercised it at will, being the only magistrate (the *quæstor*, usually a young man who accompanied him as paymaster, was his inferior). The proconsul had in his province neither colleagues to dispute his power, nor tribunes to check him, nor senate to keep watch over him. He was sole commander of all the troops of the province, led them to fight where he pleased, and cantoned them where he pleased. He held his court or *prætorium*, going from city to city to render his decrees; he had power to fine, imprison, and execute.

On reaching his province he drew up an ordinance, the *edict*, setting forth his system of jurisprudence, and this edict had the force of law. He issued commands to the inhabitants to arm themselves and fight under his orders or to furnish him with supplies, arms, beasts of burden, as many as he chose to ask. In a word, he was a sovereign, for he represented in his single person the whole Roman people.

The Romans, having subjugated the province, endeavored to further their own interests there instead of those of the province. "The provinces," said Cicero, "are the estates of the Roman people." The inhabitants of a conquered country became subjects of Rome, not citizens, and remained foreigners (*peregrini*). They had to render a proportion of their harvest, a tribute in silver, and a tax for each family. They were obliged to obey all orders from Rome, in the person of their governor.

This governor, whom no one could resist, often ruled as a despot, imprisoning, whipping, and executing those who displeased him. The following instance was given by a Roman orator: "A consul was recently sent to Teanum (in Campania); his wife took a fancy to bathe in the men's

bath. The men who were bathing were sent away, but the consul's wife complained of the delay and said the baths were not well kept. The consul sent for the chief magistrate of the city, M. Marius; the lictor bound him to a stake in the public square, stripped him and beat him with rods."

Ordinarily the proconsul regarded his province as a source of personal wealth. He robbed the temples of their treasure and forced the cities and the rich inhabitants to give him money, art treasures, and valuable garments. Nothing could have been easier. As he was able to quarter his troops wherever he wished, the cities paid him to keep his army away; as he could condemn to death at will, individuals paid him to spare their lives; whatever he asked none dared refuse.

The governor made haste to acquire wealth, having a term of only one year in which to make his fortune. Then he returned to Rome, his place was taken by another, and the whole process began again. There was a law forbidding a governor to accept a present, and a court had been created to prosecute the crime of extortion. But this court, composed of nobles, was loath to condemn a noble simply for the sake of doing justice to his subjects. If by chance a governor was condemned, he was exiled from the province, and retired to some Italian city to enjoy his ill-gotten fortune. Condemnation was not even a punishment and did no good whatever; on the contrary the inhabitants, by accusing their former governor, exposed themselves to the hatred of his successor. The name proconsul finally became synonymous with despot (see the story of Verres, page 218).

The governor was not the only robber. He had always a staff of friends, officers, and lawyers who one and all followed his example. In addition to these there were the publicans (see page 161) who had bought from the Roman people the right to collect the taxes, customs duties, and land rents. Each of these had in the province his staff of clerks and collectors, who regarded the people as their subjects; they

made them pay more than was their due, abused and imprisoned them, and even sold them as slaves. The name publican thus came to mean robber.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy.....	cc. xxxiv, xxxvi.
Ihne.....	Bk. vi, cc. i-xi.
Mommsen.....	Bk. iii, cc. xi-xii.
Botsford.....	c. vi, pp. 129-143.
How and Leigh....	c. xxxviii, pp. 293-301, c. xxix.
Morey.....	c. xviii, pp. 143-148.
Pelnam.....	Bk. iii, c. iii, pp. 158-192.
Snuckburgh.....	c. xxvi.
Abbott.....	cc. v, viii-xi.
Greenidge.....	cc. iv-viii.
Arnold, W. T.....	<i>Roman System of Provincial Administration.</i>

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GRACCHI

Beginning of the Revolutions.—The old constitution of Rome had endured as long as the Romans preserved their old customs. When the customs were changed the constitution was no longer respected.

The nobles, who monopolized the senate and the public offices, had ceased to govern honestly in the interests of the state. They had to have money to live in luxury, and they devoted their power to their own enrichment.

The people gave up country life and moved to the city, where, having lost their means of livelihood, they lived on what they could get for their votes.

The soldiers no longer fought for the love of their country: they enlisted for the wages and booty, and recognized no authority but that of their general.

The senatorial government had now become impracticable and a series of revolutions began which lasted for a century. For a hundred years the Romans and their subjects lived in the midst of riot and civil war.

Tiberius Gracchus.—The first attempt to alter the old constitution was made by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

He came of a very noble family. His father had been censor. His mother, the famous Cornelia, was a daughter of the great Scipio. His father had died while he was still very young, and he had been brought up by his mother, together with his brother Caius, his junior by nine years.

Cornelia was said to be the most virtuous woman in Rome. The king of Egypt asked her hand in marriage, but was refused.

She lived simply and without luxury. One day she was in a gathering of Roman ladies; each had shown her jewels, and they called on her to show hers. She sent for her two sons and said: "Here are my jewels."

Tiberius was educated by two Greek philosophers, Blossius of Cumæ and Diophanes of Mitylene; he became a learned man and an eloquent speaker. His disposition was amiable; in his public speeches he was calm and sedate. He lived in great simplicity, like the ancient Romans.

He quickly won the esteem and affection of the people. They elected him quæstor and he went into Spain with the consul Mancinus, who was captured by the Numantians. On his return to Rome he was made tribune of the people and began to agitate for reform.

Ruin of the Peasantry.—The Roman plebs was formerly composed of small landowners who cultivated their own land. These peasant proprietors formed both the assembly of the people and the army. Now, in 133 B.C., the class had disappeared. During the period of foreign wars the peasant could not come home every year to cultivate his land. Many perished in these wars, others remained in the conquered countries. Those who did return could no longer sell their grain at a living price, because Rome was now importing grain as tribute from Sicily and Africa.

The nobles and other men of wealth bought the peasants' land; uniting the small farms they formed large estates, and used them as meadows, vineyards, or pastures. Slaves were employed for the breeding and care of cattle. In time these great proprietors and their bands of slaves occupied the whole country. Pliny said later: "The great estates have ruined Italy."

On the other hand the city of Rome had been overrun by a population which had no property and could not maintain itself.

Tiberius, while passing through Etruria, was much impressed when he saw so fertile a country almost a desert and





inhabited only by slaves. He was also disturbed by seeing that there were no longer enough citizens to recruit the army.

When he became tribune he attempted to revive the peasant population. In a public speech he said: "The wild beasts of Italy have at least their dens, but the men who shed their blood for Italy have only the light and the air they breathe; they wander houseless, homeless, with their wives and children. The generals lie when they urge them to fight for their firesides and the tombs of their ancestors. Among all these Romans is there one who still possesses a fireside of his own or the tomb of his fathers? They fight and die only that others may live in luxury. They are called the masters of the earth, but they own nothing themselves, not even a handful of earth."

Agrarian Laws.—This was the reform measure Gracchus wished to adopt:

Rome possessed very extensive public lands, which she had acquired in the following manner. When a conquered people sued for peace, Rome forced them to yield her their territory. The ancient formula pronounced by the envoys was: "We yield to you our people, our city, our lands, our waters, and all our goods; everything which belongs to gods and men we deliver into the power of the Roman people." In this way all the land became the property of the Roman people as *public lands*.

Ordinarily it was divided into three parts:

I. One was given to the inhabitants, on payment of a certain amount of grain and money as rent.

II. Ploughed lands and pastures were farmed out to companies of contractors (publicans) who sublet them or levied a tax on each head of cattle.

III. The rest was turned into waste land on which any Roman citizen might settle and take possession of a bit of it for farm or pasture land.

The Roman people remained proprietors of the land, reserving the right to resume possession of it at will.

Tiberius proposed to the people an agrarian law¹ which would dispose of a part of this land (*ager publicus*). The occupants of public lands were to give them up (with the provision that each might reserve five hundred acres). The state resumed possession of these lands and distributed them to poor citizens, a thirty-acre lot in Italy for each family.

This law was not intended to dispossess the owner of land. No Roman would have entertained a thought of this, for private property was guaranteed by religion; the boundaries of each estate were guarded by gods, the gods *Termini*, and no one dared move them. It related only to public property and left the people the right to resume possession at will. Still the plan did not work very easily.

Almost all the territory of the Mediterranean basin belonged to the Roman people. Some of it had been in peaceful possession of certain families for centuries, and had come to be regarded by every one as their rightful property; such lands might be leased, bought, or sold. The resumption of them meant the sudden ruin of a large number of people, not only Roman nobles but Italians, and even peasants.

Further, as the Romans had no property register, it was often very difficult to determine whether a certain piece of land was public or private property. Tiberius suggested the appointment of three commissioners, "charged with the distribution of the land," whose business it should be to decide the ownership of each piece of land. This was to give them control of the fortune of every citizen.

The agrarian law pleased the people, but filled the senators and the rich with consternation. Octavius, a tribune of the people, took the part of the latter and declared himself opposed to the law. Now religion forbade disregard of a

¹ We are told that there had already been agrarian laws, and even that Licinius had secured the passage of one almost exactly like this of Tiberius, as early as 366 B.C. The Romans had, however, no certain knowledge of agrarian laws earlier than those of the Gracchi.

tribune's veto (see page 47). Tiberius begged his colleague to withdraw his veto, but Octavius refused. Tiberius tried to force him by declaring that he would let nothing else come up until the law had been voted on; he closed the treasury and the courts. The nobles threatened him with assassination; he adopted the habit of carrying a dagger under his toga. He called the people together to vote; the nobles carried away the urns.

He finally decided to ask the people to pass a law removing Octavius from office. Such a law had never been proposed before. The people assembled. One by one the tribes voted; when the seventeenth had voted (eighteen being necessary for a majority), Tiberius, it is said, embraced Octavius and implored him to retract his veto. Octavius wept but said nothing. "Let the will of the people be done," said Tiberius. The assembly voted the expulsion. Octavius refused to withdraw from office and Tiberius had him ejected by force. The mob tried to kill him and a fight ensued; a slave belonging to Octavius had his eyes torn out. The agrarian law was then passed and Tiberius, his father-in-law Appius, and his brother Caius were appointed commissioners to enforce it. Tiberius governed Rome till the end of the year (133 B.C.).

Death of Tiberius.—When the year of his tribunate was at an end, Tiberius tried to secure his reëlection for another year. His enemies threatened him, however, and he called on the people to defend him. His partisans mounted guard over his house by night to prevent assassination. In the morning Tiberius went up to the Capitol where the people had assembled to vote. The voting began, but the crowd was dense and the people grew excited. A senator, a friend of Tiberius, came to tell him that the nobles had prepared a troop of armed slaves to kill him. Tiberius conveyed the news to those nearest him, and they broke apart the lictors' fasces to use as weapons. To those who were too far away to hear his voice, Tiberius raised his hand to his head as a

sign that his enemies desired his head. Some of those who saw this sign ran to tell the senators, who had assembled at the foot of the hill, that Tiberius had pointed to his forehead as a request for a diadem, and that he was going to proclaim himself king. A noble, Scipio Nasica, urged the consul to go and "kill the tyrant." The consul refused to kill any citizen without due judgment. Nasica jumped up and cried: "Since the consul is a traitor to the republic, let those who wish to defend it follow me!" He ascended the hill, followed by the senators, each with his arm wrapped in his toga. They armed themselves on the way with *débris* from the benches broken by the scattered multitude. They had with them a band of slaves armed with clubs. Tiberius and his party tried to escape. Tiberius fell, struck down by the leg of a bench in the hand of a senator. Three hundred of his supporters were killed with sticks or stones, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. The body of Tiberius was refused burial, and his friends massacred or exiled (133 B.C.).

Scipio Æmilianus.—The agrarian law was not repealed; the commissioners continued to distribute lands, and Nasica, looked upon as guilty of murder, tyranny, and sacrilege, was obliged to leave Italy. The senate, however, resumed its control.

The most powerful man in Rome at this time was Scipio Æmilianus, the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia. He had returned from Spain and declared his opposition to the agrarian law.

We are told that when, before Numantia, he heard of the murder of Tiberius, he quoted this line from Homer:

"So perish all who follow him!"

He carried a law depriving the commissioners of the right to decide whether or not a piece of land was public property. While he was speaking he was constantly interrupted by the assembled crowd. He cried: "Silence, false sons of Italy! You will have your labor for your pains: those whom I

brought to Rome in chains I do not fear, even now that they are free."

VIA·FECEI·AB·REGIO·AD·CAPVAM·ET
 IN·EA·VIA·PONTEIS·OMNEIS·MILIARIOS
 TABELARIOS·QVE·POSEIVEI·HINCE·SVNT
 NOV·CERIA·M·MEILIA·LI·CAPVAM·XXCIII
 MVRANVM·LXXIII·COSENTIAM·CXXIII
 VALFNTIAM·CLXXX·AD·FRETVM·AF
 STATVAM·CCXXXII·REGIVM·CCXXXVII
 SVMA·AF·CAPVA·REGIVM·MEILIA·CCC
 ET·EIDEM·PRAE·TOR·IN·XXII
 SICILIA·FVGITE·IVOS·ITALICORVM
 CONQVAE·ISIVE·I·RE·DIDEI·QVE
 HOMINES·DCCCC·XVII·EIDEM·QVE
 PRIMVS·FECEI·VT·DE·AGRO·POP·LICO
 ARATORIBVS·CEDERENT·PRAESTORES
 FORVM·AEDIS·QVE·POP·LICAS·HEI·FECEI

MILESTONE OF POPILIUS LÆNAS¹ (ABOUT 130 B.C.).

The Latins complained that their lands were taken from them to be given to poor Romans, and they came in a body to Rome. Scipio took their part. One morning (129 B.C.) he was found dead in his bed, doubtless from natural causes; he was fifty-six years old and in poor health. Later, however, his enemies were accused of killing him.

Gaius Gracchus.—Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, was twenty-one years old at the time of his brother's death. He immediately took up his brother's plans. He was a more daring and more eloquent man, and won instant applause from the people.

[¹ Summarized translation: *I have built the road from Capua to Rhegium, and have placed upon it all the bridges, milestones, and despatch-bearers. From Capua to Rhegium is three hundred and twenty-one (Roman) miles. As prætor in Sicily I have conquered and returned to their masters nine hundred and seventeen fugitives. I also have first caused the shepherds to yield the public lands to cultivators. I have built a forum and public temples.*]

He was elected quæstor and sent to Sardinia in 126 B.C. The winter was severe and the soldiers had not warm enough clothes. Gaius went from city to city to ask clothing of the inhabitants. When his term of office was at an end, the senate ordered him to remain in his province, but Gaius returned to Rome. The censors wishing to punish him for this, Gaius said to them: "The law demanded of me ten campaigns, I have made twelve; the law installed me for but one year, I remained three. I have seen no festivities. I have received no gifts. I have spent none of the people's money. The purse I took with me I have brought back empty. Others have taken out casks of wine and brought them back full of gold."

In 123 B.C. he was elected tribune of the people, and had at once the support of all. Never yet had so eloquent an orator been heard in Rome. He spoke with energy, gesticulating and walking about, and often raising his voice to a shout. All previous orators, speaking from the rostrum in the public square, had faced the senate chamber; Gaius faced the people as a sign that he considered the assembly to be the real sovereign.

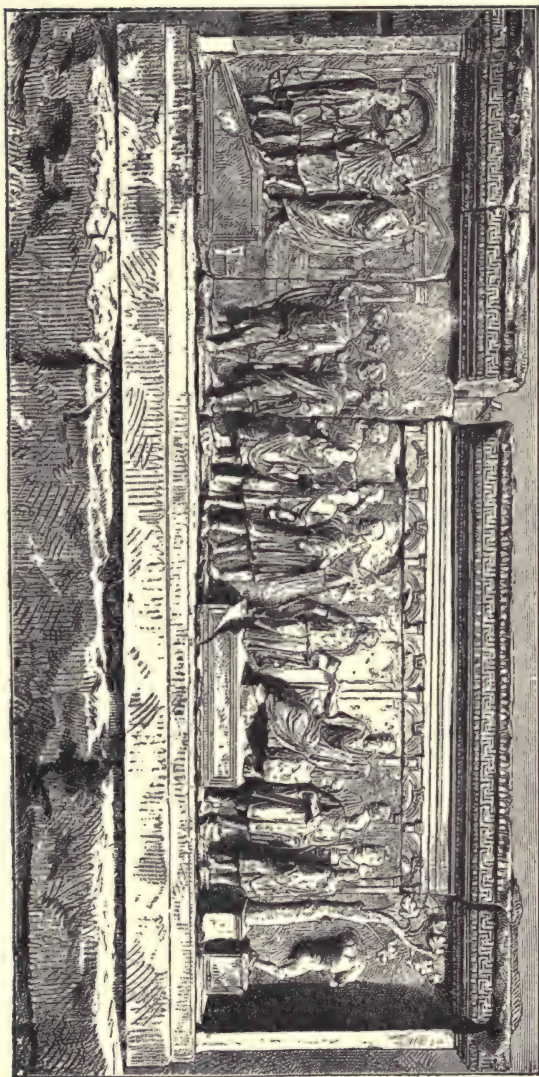
Measures of Gaius Gracchus (123 B.C.).—Gaius carried a number of laws which transformed Roman society:

I. An agrarian law ordered the resumption of public lands in the most fertile regions, in order to distribute them among poor citizens.

II. A corn law decreed that the state should buy grain and sell it at a reduced price to the poor citizens of Rome.

III. A third law ordained that the price of clothing supplied to the soldiers should no longer be deducted from their pay.

In these ways the poorer citizens were to share the wealth of the state, which the rich had heretofore kept for themselves: lands for those who were willing to go away from the city, grain for those who stayed at home, and clothing for those who served in the army.



ORATOR ON ROSTRA AND JUDGE.
(Bas-relief from Forum.)

IV. A fourth law transformed the criminal courts. Hitherto all the judges were senators, and therefore, of course, nobles, which made it very difficult to convict a noble. Gaius secured the appointment of knights as judges.¹ He said to the senate: "With this stroke I have broken the pride and power of the nobles." "Even if you kill me, can you pluck from your side the sword which I have planted there?"

He also undertook the construction of great roads, built in a straight line, paved with huge flagstones, with posts to mark the miles, and mounting-stones for horsemen.

At the expiration of his term he again presented himself as a candidate and was unanimously reelected. He had other projects in mind. He proposed that all the Italians, or at least the Latins, should be made Roman citizens, in order to increase the number of citizens. He secured the foundation of colonies at Capua and Tarentum in Italy, and, in Africa, on the old site of Carthage.

The senate was anxious to turn the people against him, and arranged with another tribune, Livius, for the introduction of even more popular measures. Gaius asked for two colonies, Livius proposed twelve. The consul Fannius spoke against the idea of granting citizenship to the Latins. He said to the people: "When the Latins become citizens, do you think that you will have the same place in the assemblies, games, and festivals? Do you not see that these people will crowd you out of everything?"

¹ The system was changed seven times within fifty-three years.



ROMAN MILESTONE.

Gaius was sent to Africa to found the colony of Junonia at Carthage. At the end of three months he returned to find his party weakened and his personal enemy, Opimius, elected consul. Gaius presented himself as a candidate for the tribunate, but failed of election (122 B.C.).

Death of Gaius Gracchus. — Opimius convoked the assembly on the Capitoline hill to repeal the laws of Gaius. The two parties found themselves together and began to fight; they were obliged to stop on account of rain, but not before a lictor had been killed.

On the following day Opimius called the senate together and had the body of the dead lictor brought to the door of the senate chamber. The senators went out and looked at it, then came back and voted "that the consuls should be empowered to save the Republic." Opimius commanded the nobles and knights to come around the next day. In the night he sent a force to occupy the Capitol.

The next morning Gaius, with three thousand of his supporters, withdrew to the Aventine Mount. The consul came to attack them with the nobles, their slaves, and the Cretan archers. Gaius was unwilling to fight. He took refuge in the temple of Diana, where he attempted suicide, and was prevented by his friends. He tried to flee in the direction of the Tiber, but was overtaken by the enemy near the wooden bridge. Two of his friends lost their lives while defending the bridge, but they gave him time to escape to a sacred grove, where he had his slave kill him. Three thousand of his party were killed; their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, their goods confiscated, and their wives forbidden to wear mourning (121 B.C.).

A story is told that, before the battle, the consul had offered its weight in gold for the head of Gaius Gracchus. The man who brought it removed the brain and filled the cavity with molten lead.

The consul had the laws of Gaius Gracchus repealed, and the senate was once more master of the government. But

the Roman people remained divided in two hostile parties, that of the nobles and senate (*optimates*), and that of the people (*populares*).

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Livy.....	<i>Epit.</i> , LVIII-LX.
Plutarch	<i>Tiberius</i> and <i>Gaius Gracchus</i> .
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PARALLEL READING.

Duruy	c. xxxviii.
Ihne.....	Bk. VI, c. xvi; Bk. VII, cc. i-vi.
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CHAPTER XIV.

THE PERIOD OF MARIUS AND SULLA.

Marius.—Two years after the death of Gaius Gracchus Marius was elected tribune of the people (119 B.C.). He was not a noble; he came from Arpinum, a small town in Latium, and had, like the ancient Romans, lived the life of a peasant and a soldier; he had never learned to read and had no acquaintance with Greek. The great family of Metellus favored him and secured his election.

Marius was opposed to the nobles. It was the custom for candidates to stand on the bridges across which the voters passed and watch them deposit their ballots. Marius proposed a law making these bridges narrower. The consul ordered him to come to the senate chamber; Marius obeyed the summons, and threatened to have the consul arrested. The law was passed.

When Marius presented himself for election as ædile, the nobles prevented his election. He was elected prætor, being last on the list, but was prosecuted for buying votes, and acquitted only on a tied vote. After the expiration of his prætorship he was sent to Spain. He then made peace with the nobles, and Metellus, who had become consul, took him with him to make war in Africa.

War against Jugurtha.—West of the African province lay the land of the Numidians, a race of horsemen, hunters, and shepherds. They had won fame in the Punic wars by their agility in using the bow and spear on horseback. The king of the Numidians was allied with Rome. His nephew

Jugurtha served in the army which besieged Numantia, and Scipio had been struck with his bravery.

When the king died he divided his kingdom among his two sons and his nephew Jugurtha (118 B.C.). The three princes quarrelled, and Jugurtha had one of them assassinated (117 B.C.). The senate divided the kingdom between Jugurtha and the other one. War soon broke out between them, and the senate sent a deputation commanding Jugurtha to cease fighting. Jugurtha had the king, his cousin, put to death. A consul came from Rome with an army; Jugurtha offered him no resistance, but made terms with him.

At Rome a report spread about that the nobles had received money from Jugurtha. Memmius, a tribune, spoke against the nobles, and the people ordered Jugurtha to come to Rome and explain the matter. He appeared before the assembly, but another tribune, probably paid by him, forbade him to speak. There was another Numidian prince in Rome at the time, a grandson of Massinissa; the Roman people wished to give the kingdom to him, but Jugurtha heard of the plan and had him assassinated. The senate then ordered Jugurtha to leave the city, and Rome declared war against him (110 B.C.).

It was said that from the time that he fought in the Roman army in Spain, Jugurtha had recognized the venality of the nobles. "At Rome," he said, "everything is for sale."—There was also a story that on quitting Rome he cried: "Ah, venal city, thou wouldst sell thyself if thou but found a purchaser!"

The army sent against Jugurtha was surprised and surrounded in its camp and forced to surrender. Jugurtha, after making the soldiers pass under the yoke, released them on condition that they should leave his kingdom within ten days.

The senate broke this treaty and sent Metellus, the consul, to command an army in Africa. He entered Numidia and began to ravage the country (109 B.C.). At the end of a year, Jugurtha sued for peace. Metellus promised to

grant it, but demanded the surrender of his elephants, horses, arms, and Roman deserters, and the payment of two hundred thousand pounds of silver. Jugurtha complied in every particular. Then Metellus demanded the surrender of his person, but rather than this Jugurtha preferred to renew the war.

The campaign which followed was a severe one. The army marched across deserts of burning sand, subjected to sudden attacks by the Numidian cavalry. Marius made himself popular with his soldiers by sharing their hardships; he slept on the ground and assisted in the work of constructing entrenchments and palisades.

When the election period was drawing near, Marius asked Metellus to let him go to Rome and offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, but he at first refused. Twelve days before the elections he succeeded in getting permission to leave. He reached Rome just in time to be elected, and the people gave him command of the war against Jugurtha (107 B.C.).

Marius now introduced a new policy. Hitherto no man could enlist in a legion unless he possessed a small amount of property. Marius accepted all who offered themselves, even actual paupers. After this fighting became a profession, with a usual term of twenty-five years' service.

The war lasted over a year. Jugurtha withdrew into the territory of his father-in-law and neighbor, Bocchus, king of Mauritania, who returned with him into Numidia. The Roman army again narrowly escaped capture. Bocchus preferred to treat with the Romans; he proposed a peace, offering to deliver up Jugurtha if Rome would give him favorable terms.

Marius sent his quæstor Sulla, a young noble, to negotiate with Bocchus. Under pretext of treating with the Romans they tricked Jugurtha into coming to a certain hill; Mauritanian warriors then jumped from ambush and captured him alive (106 B.C.).

When Marius celebrated his triumph at Rome a year later, Jugurtha figured in the procession. He was then taken to an underground prison and left naked to die of cold and hunger (104 B.C.).

It is said that the lictors who escorted him to the prison tore off his robe and lacerated his ears in taking the ornaments from them. We are also told that Jugurtha, who had become insane during the triumphal march, thought himself at the baths and said, "How cold your hot rooms are!"

Invasion by the Cimbri and Teutons.—The war with Jugurtha was scarcely over when Rome had to face a new and great danger. Two peoples, the Cimbri and the Teutons, had left the north of Germany and were marching across Europe in search of a place in which to settle. They were bringing with them all their possessions, their wives, children, and slaves, their cattle and dogs, with their household goods in leather-covered wagons drawn by oxen. They were large men, with light hair and blue eyes, and their food was raw beef.

A Roman general was sent into Noricum, an allied territory south of the Danube, to turn them back. He was defeated, however, and his army destroyed.

Still the barbarians made no attempt to attack Italy, but invaded Gaul, which for four years they ravaged and pillaged. They finally reached the Rhone. One Roman army was defeated in 109 B.C.; another was defeated and surrounded in 107 B.C., and forced to pass under the yoke. Still a third was defeated and its general taken prisoner. At length, near Orange, two Roman armies, which were occupying separate camps because of trouble between their generals, were exterminated one after the other (105 B.C.). Eighty thousand soldiers are said to have perished. Five Roman armies had been destroyed.

Rome now believed that the barbarians would march directly into Italy, and the alarmed people, feeling they could trust no one but Marius, elected him consul (104 B.C.). Marius returned from Africa and led an army to the defence

of Gaul. But the Cimbri and Teutons, instead of attacking Italy, entered Spain, and stayed there two years.

During these two years Marius remained at the head of the army; contrary to law, the people elected him consul for three successive years. This gave him time to drill his men. He made them take long marches, carrying their arms and the rest of their equipment; he accustomed them to preparing their own food; he had them learn swordsmanship as it was taught in the gladiatorial schools, a valuable exercise in close combat. The javelin used by the legionaries, the *pilum*, was impracticable, because the enemy might pick it up and use it against the Romans. Marius substituted a wooden pin for one of the iron pins which fastened the point to the handle; when the *pilum* struck the enemy this pin broke and rendered the weapon useless until repaired.

Defeat of the Teutons

(102 B.C.).—At last the

barbarians left Spain.

The Cimbri went around

by the Danube to enter

Italy from the north.

The Teutons and Am-

brones followed the

shore of the Mediter-

anean to enter Italy

from the west. The latter arrived a whole year before the

Cimbri.



MARIUS.

The soldiers of Marius in their camp near Aquæ Sextiæ were surprised to find themselves face to face with an army of tall, wild-looking warriors, who, with an unfamiliar war-cry, provoked them to battle.

Marius was unwilling to risk a battle until his soldiers should become accustomed to the fearful aspect of the barbarians.

The Teutons, failing to entice the Romans from their camp, decided to leave them and march across the Alps. Marius followed them cautiously until near Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix) he found himself in an advantageous position. Here was fought a terrific battle which resulted in the practical annihilation of the Teutons (102 B.C.).

They say that so many bodies were left on the field that the soil was enriched and yielded greater harvests, and that for years the inhabitants fenced in their vineyards with the bones of the dead.

Marius had the arms and spoils of the barbarians collected in a heap; then, robing himself in purple and crowning his soldiers with laurel, he set fire to the mass.

Defeat of the Cimbri (101 B.C.).—The Cimbri had crossed the Alps on the north and came down into Italy through the valley of the Adige. The consul Catulus was sent to stop them. Marius, elected consul for the fifth time, came to join Catulus, and they united their armies. The Cimbri awaited the arrival of the Teutons before making an attack.

It is said that they sent to ask Marius for lands for themselves and their brothers. Marius asked what brothers they meant. The envoys replied, "Our Teuton brothers." Then Marius laughed and said, "Trouble no longer about your brothers, for we have already granted them land which they will keep forever." The envoys were angry at this and told him that he would be punished first by them, then by the Teutons when they should arrive. "They are already here," replied Marius, "and you may greet them." Whereupon the Teuton chiefs were led out in chains.

A great battle followed near Vercellæ in which the Cimbri



met a similar fate to that which had befallen the Teutons (101 B.C.). The entire people was either massacred or taken prisoner.

Disturbances in Rome.—Marius was now regarded as the savior of Italy; he received from the people the title of third founder of Rome and was elected consul for the sixth time. He had become master of the government, together with two democratic leaders (*populares*) who had aided him and were elected at the same time: Saturninus, tribune of the people, and Glaucia, prætor.

They revived the reforms of Gaius Gracchus and proposed a number of laws: first, a law providing for the resumption of the territory just ravaged by the Cimbri, and the distribution of it to citizens and Italians; second, a law ordaining the sale to each citizen of a certain quantity of grain at a very low price, much less than its worth; third, a law creating colonies for veteran soldiers who had served under Marius, each of whom received one hundred acres of land.

The nobles opposed these measures. One of the tribunes declared himself opposed to them, but Saturninus carried them in spite of his veto. There was fighting in the assembly. The party supporting the senate broke the voting-urns, but the veterans of Marius drove them from the assembly and the laws were passed. It was decided that the magistrates and senators must swear allegiance to these laws within five days. Marius promised the senate that he would not swear, but was the first to take the oath the next day. The senate followed his example, with the exception of Metellus, the conqueror of Jugurtha, who refused to take the oath and was condemned to exile.

Saturninus and Glaucia were now masters of Rome; they bent the assembly to their will by the use of armed force. They had a candidate for office struck down in the open street because he did not please them.

The people were indignant and turned against them. The senate charged Marius with the work of putting them

down. Marius, not daring to refuse, attacked them. Saturninus and Glaucia established themselves on the Capitoline hill, but the water-conduits were cut and they had to surrender. Glaucia was killed. Saturninus had been shut up in the senate chamber; the mob climbed on the roof and, pulling off the tiles, stoned him to death. His head was borne off on the point of a pike (100 B.C.).

The laws were repealed, Metellus recalled from exile, and the senate once more resumed control.

The Revolt of the Italians.—The people living in and around Rome were still the only Roman citizens. Rome had not created a new tribe since 241 B.C. The Italians were still allies, that is to say, subjects obliged to fight under Roman command. For two centuries they had served in Roman armies at their own expense, unable to become superior officers, to be elected magistrates, or even to vote in the assemblies; they were still subject to Roman magistrates, who could have them beaten or executed without a trial. They shared the dangers and expenses but none of the honors or powers. Like the plebeians of former times, they began to claim equality with the Romans.

Gaius Gracchus had attempted to gain citizenship for them; after his fall his party still proposed reforms of this kind. The senatorial party, however, always opposed them, even carrying a law forbidding allies to settle in Rome, and finally ordering an investigation to discover any that might be trying to pass for citizens (95 B.C.).

At the same time the senators and knights were disputing over the right to furnish judges for the criminal courts. Drusus, a young tribune supported by the senate, presented a set of laws which should satisfy all parties. He also consulted with the allies and proposed a law declaring them Roman citizens.

We are told that a troop of ten thousand allies (Marsi) armed with hidden weapons marched on Rome by a circuitous route. They were met by Domitius, a former consul, who asked their

leader where they were going. "We are going to Rome, whither the tribune has summoned us," was the reply. Domitius told them that the senate had decided to grant them the right of citizenship, and persuaded them to return to their own country.

The consul attempted to oppose the law, but it was passed. Drusus died suddenly; it was thought that he was assassinated. The senate declared his laws void and began to proceed against the allies for having supported him.

The allies were armed, many of them having just fought under Marius. As the Romans refused them citizenship, they resolved to win it by force. This was the beginning of the Social War, so called because it was fought between Rome and her *socii* or allies.

The rebels were the Apennine mountaineers, brave and warlike, and simple in their mode of life; in the south the Samnites, who had never become reconciled to Rome; in the north the Marsi, whose well-known courage had given rise to the proverb: "Who can triumph over the Marsi or without the Marsi?"

They made their plans together, exchanging hostages in token of mutual obligation. A Roman proconsul, learning that the city of Asculum had given hostages to another city, went to Asculum on a public feast-day, and threatened the assembled people; the inhabitants killed him, together with all the Roman citizens in the town. Immediately after this the allies sent to Rome to demand the rights of citizenship. The senate refused and passed a law providing for trial of the Romans who were accused of inciting the revolt.

The allies then severed their connection with Rome, and organized an independent government on the Roman model: two consuls, two prætors, and a senate of five hundred members. They chose for their capital the city of Corfinium and named it Italia. The Samnites issued a coinage, inscribed in the Oscan tongue. One of these pieces represented a bull, the Samnite emblem, mangling a wolf, the emblem of Rome.

Rome was greatly disturbed. Sentinels were posted at the gates and on the city wall, and all the citizens wore their war-cloaks. Rome was supported by all the provinces and a part of Italy, the Greeks in the south and the Umbrians and Etruscans in the north.

The war broke out in two quarters; in each a Roman consul held chief command, assisted by five legates or Roman prætors; opposing him was an Italian consul, with six prætors. Each of these chiefs had an army. In the north the commander-in-chief, a Marsian named Pompædus Silo, held the mountains against the forces of Rome. In the south the commander-in-chief, a Samnite named Papius Mutilus, attacked Campania.

For the first year (90 B.C.) the allies had the upper hand. They repulsed the Romans in the north, while the Samnites conquered Campania in the south. Rome had not enough soldiers left to defend Latium, and, contrary to all custom, enlisted freedmen as legionaries.

Right of Citizenship Extended to the Italians.—The Etruscans and Umbrians, the northern allies, had so far remained faithful to Rome; they now began to show signs of agitation. Reports were heard of insurrection in Spain, Gaul, and Asia. The Romans were alarmed and made up their minds to give in.

A law was passed granting the right of citizenship to all Rome's allies in Italy who had not revolted, on condition that they should adopt the Roman laws (90 B.C.).

Rome continued the war with her rebellious allies until she conquered them. Her armies forced their way into the mountains, defeated the Marsi, and besieged Asculum.

The consul took Asculum, executed the chief inhabitants, and drove the others naked from the town. Pompædus Silo was killed in battle. All the rebels surrendered, with the exception of one Samnite army which continued the war in the mountains.

The Romans then passed a law extending the freedom of

the city to all Italians (89 B.C.). They granted after victory what they had refused before. But this unnecessary war had destroyed the flower of the Roman army and ended in the destruction of the free population of Italy.

Marius had commanded an army in this war, but, being old and sick, he distinguished himself only by his lack of energy. He ceased to be regarded as the greatest general in Rome.

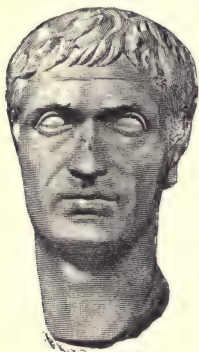
*** Results of the Social War.**—This war had cost Rome and Italy probably three hundred thousand lives. It had taught Rome that her own municipal government was unfitted to administer the whole peninsula, and that those who bore the burdens of the state must share in its citizenship and its honors, as well as its obligations. But the relief granted to the Italians was more apparent than real. Their citizenship was of no political advantage to them unless they went to Rome to vote. This of course the vast majority of them could not do. It was a great thing, however, for the mother city to have once conceded the principle that others than residents in or near Rome must be taken into account, and that a mere local city government could not control a nation. Such an idea as that of a representative system had not yet dawned upon the world. It might have prevented many of the troubles which speedily followed. For the corrupt senatorial party was still bound to rule or ruin. It succeeded only in ruining, as we shall presently see.

The incorporation of the Italians raised the registry of citizens from 394,336 to 900,000.

Sulla.—Marius was succeeded by Sulla, who belonged to the famous patrician family of the Cornelii, though of a decayed branch. His youth was passed in the company of comedians. He was a violent man, with a red face covered with white spots, bright eyes, and a terrible expression when roused to anger.

He first distinguished himself as quæstor with Marius in

the Numidian war; he had a seal made representing himself in the act of receiving the captive Jugurtha. He was one of the chief officers in the army that defeated the Cimbri.



SULLA.

Later he was sent to Cappadocia as pro-prætor, whence he returned with a fortune and was so lucky as to escape the charge of peculation.

In the Social War he commanded the army which won Campania back from the Samnites, and earned the reputation of a great general. He tried to win the hearts of his soldiers, and he succeeded by methods unknown to the Roman generals of antiquity; he let his men do what they pleased.

After the war Sulla was elected consul and given command of the war against Mithridates in Asia.

Mithridates.—On the shores of the Black Sea (Euxine Sea) a new state had grown up, the kingdom of Pontus. Its kings claimed descent from Persian princes of the family of Darius, although their subjects were barbarians. They still worshipped the Persian god, but their soldiers and ministers were Greeks, and Greek was the language of the court. Established first on the mountains, they had descended to the coast and settled in a Greek city, Sinope. They really became half Greek.

One of these kings, Mithridates, was Rome's last adversary in the East. He lost his father in his early youth, and his mother, a Greek princess of Syria, and his tutors, who governed in his name, tried to put an end to him. He perceived their intention, and, at the age of fourteen, withdrew into the mountains.

At the age of twenty he returned to Sinope, assumed the royal power and imprisoned his mother. His first object was to increase his kingdom. Greek officers came to drill

his soldiers in the Greek fashion, and formed a phalanx of six thousand men.

At this time the Crimean peninsula on the opposite coast of the Black Sea was occupied by Greek cities; these cities had formerly won wealth by trading in grain, but were long since impoverished by the tribute exacted by their neighbors, the barbaric Scythians. These Greeks asked help of Mithridates, who sent an expedition which repulsed the barbarians, and Mithridates became king of the Greek countries on the north of the Black Sea.



COIN OF MITHRIDATES.

Mithridates next conquered Colchis, which consisted of a fertile plain and wooded mountains, lying at the foot of the Caucasus, at the extremity of the Black Sea; then Lesser Armenia, a region of steep mountains, commanding the Black Sea on the southeast. His kingdom was now composed of three separate bits of territory around the Black Sea, unable to communicate except by sea. Crimea furnished him grain, Colchis wood, and tar for his ships.

The Sarmatæ and Bastarnæ, the savage peoples occupying the great plains between the Don and the Danube, were his allies and furnished him great strong soldiers.

Revolt of Asia.—The old Hellenic kingdom of Pergamum belonged to Rome, the last king having bequeathed it to the Roman people in 133 B.C.; it had become the province known as Asia (see page 142). It was a rich country, and the Romans drained all its resources. They exacted from

the inhabitants a tenth part of their harvest, control of their pasture-lands, and customs duties. The publicans who bought the right to collect the customs exacted more than their due, and if a man refused to pay, sold him into slavery. Often a city was obliged to borrow money at an exorbitant rate of interest (sometimes more than 24 per cent) in order to pay its taxes; her creditors were Roman knights who might imprison or torture the officials of the city. The proconsul confiscated inheritances, sold judgments, imposed enormous fines, and shared with the publicans in pillaging the province. Rutilius, a quæstor, undertook to defend the inhabitants. Returning to Rome the publicans accused him, and the court, composed of knights who were in league with the publicans, condemned him to exile. There were, it was said, one hundred thousand Italians in the province, employed by the bankers, publicans, merchants, usurers, and slave-dealers.

The rest of Asia Minor was divided between petty kings ruling over small barbaric peoples, and the Greek coast cities. Mithridates spent a number of years enlarging his kingdom by subjugating these peoples. The senate ordered him to surrender his conquests, and he stopped for a time, but took advantage of the Social War to make a sudden attack on these weak neighbors.

He dispersed the armies of the kings. Aquilius, the senate's envoy, a man hated for his avarice, had attacked his territory, but was defeated and took refuge in the Greek city of Mitylene, whose inhabitants gave him up. Mithridates sent him from one city to another, bound on a donkey, beaten all the while with rods and calling his name aloud. He then had him executed.

A story is told of molten gold being poured down his throat that he might be "satiated with it."

The victorious Mithridates came to an agreement with the Greeks in Asia, who were exasperated against the publicans. All at once they rose and massacred all Latin-speaking

persons (who, we are told, were eighty thousand in number); they left their bodies unburied and confiscated their goods.

Mithridates was now master of the province. He abolished all taxes for five years and established himself in Pergamum.

The Athenians, who had hitherto been allies of Rome, joined Mithridates. Archelaos, commander of the fleet of Mithridates, cruised among the islands of the *Ægean* Sea; attacking Delos, a trading port of Italian merchants, he took possession of it, massacred the men (twenty thousand, it is said), and sold the women and children.

War in Rome.—Sulla was given charge of the war against Mithridates. His army was already assembled in Campania. Marius tried to take the command from him. At this time Sulpicius, the tribune, controlled the assembly by force; he was supported by a band of armed men and six hundred knights, whom he called his anti-senate, and he secured the passage of the laws he wanted. Marius came to an understanding with him, and a law was passed transferring command of the war from Sulla to Marius, although the latter was not a magistrate. Sulla was obliged to leave Rome, and his son-in-law was killed in a riot.

The soldiers wanted Sulla as their general, however, and they killed two officers who were sent to them by Marius. Six legions then marched on Rome and entered the city armed. This was the first time that an army broke the hallowed rule against entering the city. It marks the beginning of the time when the soldiers of Rome were to become her masters instead of her servants. In this intrusion was the germ of the empire and also of its ruin. Militarism was to grow more and more dominant until the end.

The followers of Marius attempted to defend themselves by throwing down stones and tiles from the roofs. Sulla ordered the houses set on fire, and the combat ceased (87 B.C.).

The senate declared Marius and some others to be public

enemies, and Sulpicius was killed. Marius succeeded in escaping to Africa, after the many adventures related below :

Marius fled to Ostia and there embarked with his servants. Stormy weather obliged them to land again on the coast of Latium ; they wandered about without food, fearing capture at every moment. In the evening they ran across some cowherds who recognized Marius and warned him that they had just seen horsemen going by in pursuit of him ; they could not, however, give him anything to eat. Marius and his men hid in a wood and there spent the night.

The next day they set out to walk along the shore. When near Minturnæ, they saw horsemen approaching and threw themselves into the sea ; they succeeded in reaching two boats which were near by and got aboard of them. Marius was supported by two slaves, for he was too fat and helpless to move. The horsemen cried to the boatmen to come ashore or else throw Marius into the sea. The sailors were frightened and landed near a swamp, where they put Marius ashore, promising to return for him when he should be rested ; then they went away.

Marius, alone and discouraged, started to cross the swamp, which was covered with mud-holes. He reached a small hut, where an old man took pity on him and offered to conceal him in a safe place ; he led him to a hollow near the river and covered him up with roses. The horsemen arrived and told the old man that they were seeking an enemy of the Roman people. Marius heard them and threw off his clothes that he might hide himself still further in the water. This movement disclosed his presence.

Naked and covered with mud he was taken to Minturnæ and handed over to the magistrates of the city, who deliberated long over his case. They finally resolved to kill him, but none of the inhabitants were willing to undertake the work. A Cimbrian agreed to do it. Sword in hand he entered the prisoner's chamber. Out of the darkness the Cimbrian heard a voice cry : " Wretch, darest thou kill Caius Marius ? " He fled in a panic, dropping his sword and crying, " I cannot kill Caius Marius."

The people of Minturnæ decided to spare Marius ; they led him to the shore and put him on a ship.

Marius escaped capture once more in Sicily and landed at Carthage. The governor of Africa sent a lictor to forbid his landing in the province. For a moment he stood silent. The lictor asked what word he should carry back to the governor. " Tell him," he said, " that you have seen Marius, sitting among the ruins of Carthage."

First War against Mithridates.—Sulla now turned his attention towards Greece. He landed in Epirus with thirty

thousand legionaries and a small number of horsemen. Mithridates, with his army, had come from Asia through Thrace and Macedonia, and was occupying Bœotia. At Athens the anti-Roman party had chosen as their leader a professor of oratory, Aristion, executed the supporters of Rome, and admitted a garrison sent by Mithridates at their request.

Sulla besieged Athens and the Piræus at once (87 B.C.). He blockaded Athens and tried to storm the Piræus, which was guarded by a stone wall fifty-six feet high and sixteen feet thick, surrounding both the port and the hill. He procured money by forcing the loan of the treasure in the Greek temples, and wood by cutting down the famous trees about Athens, the grove of Lycæus, and the sacred plane-trees of the Academia. He had a mound of earth constructed, and covered with stones, on which to mount his engines and wooden towers.

They fought for six months until the winter came on, and the rains prevented Sulla from storming the city. When the winter was over he resumed the attack, and finally succeeded in breaking down a part of the wall with a small mine made of oakum, sulphur, and pitch. He forced an entrance through the breach, but was stopped by the besieged, and the next morning the Romans found an improvised wall facing them. Sulla turned his attention once more to Athens.

The Athenians, who had been blockaded for a year, were out of provisions; they had eaten their pack-animals, and were living on shoes and leather bottles, roots, and the bodies of the dead.

Sulla learned through his spies that some Athenians had been heard to complain that one side of the wall was poorly guarded. He surprised that side and broke down a bit of it, and through this breach, at midnight, his army entered. Sulla desired vengeance on the Athenians because they had jeered from the top of the wall at him and his wife (calling

him a floured mulberry). He scattered his soldiers through the city with orders to kill every one they saw. Half the inhabitants were massacred, so that blood is said to have flowed from the public square to the outskirts of the city.

Sulla now returned to the Piræus, stormed it and burned the arsenal. Then he marched into Bœotia and pitched his camp face to face with the army of Mithridates, which, though three times his number, was composed of Asiatics and fifteen thousand slaves who had been freed to make up a phalanx. He attacked them suddenly near Chæronea and routed them. The fugitives ran towards their camp; the Romans followed and slew them. Sulla declared his loss to be only fourteen men, while he had killed or taken prisoner fifty thousand of the enemy (86 B.C.).

Another army of Mithridates, which had been sent by sea, joined the remnant of the defeated army, entered Bœotia and camped in the plain of Orchomenus, near a swamp. This army having an excellent body of cavalry, Sulla had deep ditches dug to impede its movements. The enemy's cavalry attacked the Romans at work, and they were on the point of flight when Sulla, jumping from his horse, ran to them and cried, "When you are asked where you deserted your general you may say at Orchomenus." The Romans pulled themselves together and drove the enemy back to their camp, almost to the swamp.

The next day they dug a trench so as to shut in the enemy, and then attacked them. The Asiatics were caught between the Romans and the swamp and were either killed or drowned.

Sulla was now master of all Greece. Having no fleet with which to cross into Asia, he passed the winter in Thessaly.

Supremacy of Marius at Rome.—Sulla had taken care to secure the election of his own partisans before he left Rome. The two consuls did not agree, however. One of them, Cinna, joined the supporters of Marius; driven from Rome by his colleague, he placed himself at the head of the

army which was gathered in Campania, recalled Marius from Africa and together they marched on Rome. After a battle they entered the city and massacred the leading senators. Sulla was declared a public enemy and Marius elected consul (87 B.C.).

Marius died the next year, leaving Cinna master of Rome. Cinna secured the passage of a law giving command of the war against Mithridates to a man of his own party, the consul Valerius Flaccus.

Flaccus left Italy with an army, and crossing Macedonia and Thrace arrived in Asia. Sulla was now threatened by a Roman army and by Mithridates at the same time. He accepted the proposals made by Mithridates, and went to Asia to negotiate with him. They concluded a peace by which Mithridates renounced Greece, the province of Asia, and the kingdoms he had conquered; he also promised to pay two thousand talents and to furnish seventy ships fully equipped and provisioned (84 B.C.).

The preceding winter Flaccus had passed at Byzantium, leaving his army to camp outside the walls. The soldiers complained of cold, forced their way into the city, massacred the inhabitants, and took possession of their houses. Flaccus had a disagreement with Fimbria, his lieutenant, and dismissed him. Fimbria went to the camp, addressed the soldiers and assumed command. Flaccus fled, but was captured and killed. Fimbria marched against Mithridates.

Sulla brought his army near Fimbria's camp and set his men to digging ditches. Numbers of Fimbria's men came out in their tunics to help in the work. Fimbria called his soldiers together and addressed them, trying to make them swear to obey his orders. He began to call the roll, but the first officer called on refused to take the oath. The army then joined Sulla.

Fimbria was overcome by this desertion and committed suicide. Sulla, who was now sole commander of the Roman armies, spent the winter in the province of Asia, quartering

his soldiers on the inhabitants. The householder had to furnish each legionary with six drachmæ a day and feed all the guests he might invite to the house. Sulla called the notables of the province together and announced through them his thanks to the province, at the same time demanding the payment of twenty thousand talents. To raise this sum the cities had to mortgage their theatres, gymnasiums, and harbors. Asia was ruined.

Sulla's Return to Rome.—Sulla, having won the hearts of his soldiers by permitting them to pillage Asia, brought them back to Rome. He had with him forty thousand men, while against him were the Roman government and the Italians; but his soldiers were so devoted to him that they even offered him their money. He landed at Brundisium, crossed Italy, and entered Campania (83 B.C.).

His enemies raised six armies with which to meet him, but the soldiers were not willing to fight against Sulla. Cinna's army had already killed its general for trying to force them into it (84 B.C.). The army of Norbanus was defeated near Capua, this being the first time that two Roman armies had fought against one another.

Sulla next encountered the army of the consul Scipio. He offered to make terms; while the discussion was going on his soldiers talked with those of Scipio and induced them to join Sulla. Some days later Sulla marched on Scipio's camp and was joined by the whole army. Scipio, left alone, was taken prisoner; Sulla let him go.

In the following spring an army commanded by the son of Marius was put to flight near Sacriportus; the young Marius fled and shut himself up in Præneste.

The partisans of Marius left Rome after again massacring a number of the senators. Sulla entered the city unmolested.

There was still another Roman army in Etruria under the consul Carbo; advancing to meet Sulla, it resisted him for some time, but broke up on being attacked by an army which Metellus was bringing from the north.

Then Pontius Telesinus, with an army of Samnites, Rome's former enemies, and collecting on his way the fragments of the defeated armies, attempted to blockade Præneste; finding himself surrounded, he marched rapidly on Rome.

It was said that he wished to destroy Rome. "Let us destroy," he said, "these wolves who devour the liberty of Italy. We must cut down the forest in which they lurk."

The Samnites arrived before the city and camped near the Colline Gate. Early in the day they repulsed the young nobles who had come out of the city on horseback. In the afternoon Sulla arrived, and without waiting to rest his army, drew it up in line of battle and attacked the Samnites. This was the most savage battle of the whole war. Sulla's left wing was driven back to the foot of the wall. Night ended the fighting. The other wing had meanwhile put the enemy to rout. The Samnite resistance was broken; they tried to withdraw, and were captured while in retreat. Sulla had them all massacred on the Campus Martius, even those who had surrendered.

The defenders of Præneste, which had been blockaded for eight months, were now without food. Four attempts had been made to raise the blockade. The besieging party finally showed them the heads of the conquered chiefs, and after the defeat of the Samnites they surrendered. Marius the younger killed himself. Sulla had the senators and officers executed, together with all the Samnites and men of Præneste.

Proscriptions.—Sulla called together the assembly of the people at Rome, and declared his intention of restoring the constitution and punishing all those who had fought against him. His soldiers began a general massacre.

After some days of this one of his supporters suggested that Sulla should designate those whom he wished to see put to death, in order to regulate the massacre somewhat. Sulla accordingly published a list of names. Every man on the

list was abandoned to the slayers and his goods confiscated. Whosoever delivered him up or disclosed his whereabouts was entitled to a share, while any man who helped to conceal him ran the risk of punishment. This list was not final; Sulla soon published a second, then a third.

Soldiers went in all directions in search of the proscribed, bringing their heads to Sulla's house, then exposing them near the Forum. Among those proscribed were the leaders of the *populares*, both senators and knights, personal enemies of Sulla, and even some of his favorites; men of wealth were sacrificed for their fortunes.

A wealthy Roman, a non-partisan, went to the public square to read the list of the proscribed. Finding his own name he cried: "Woe is me! It is my Alban villa that has ruined me." He was immediately killed.

Ninety senators and twenty-six hundred knights who had supported Marius were killed. A prætor, a relation of Marius, was led to the tomb of Catulus, whose death was to be avenged. There he was fearfully mutilated and tortured to death.

Sulla had the houses and goods of the proscribed sold at auction. They brought him three hundred and fifty million sesterces (175,000,00 dollars). His favorites were enabled to purchase at a low price, and made money for themselves.

Cornelian Laws.—Sulla was absolute master of Rome. He had himself elected consul, then secured a new power and a new title: "dictator charged with the drafting of laws and organization of the state" (82 B.C.). For two years he promulgated laws without limit of time. They were called by his name, the *Cornelian*¹ laws.

Sulla wished to reward his veterans by giving them land. He had just practically destroyed two Italian peoples who had assisted his adversaries, the Samnites and Etruscans; he took away their lands and used them to create military colonies peopled by his veterans. He thus settled one hundred and twenty thousand of these veterans. Etruria

¹ His full name was Lucius Cornelius Sulla.

became a Latin country and the Etruscan language ceased to be spoken.

Sulla freed all slaves belonging to the proscribed and made them citizens, giving them his own name. These Cornelli, ten thousand in number, formed his body-guard. He also decreed that descendants of the proscribed should never be eligible to any office.

Sulla now devoted himself to the reorganization of the government. His plan was to restore to the senate and nobles that power of which they had gradually been deprived by the assembly and the tribunes of the people. These were the details of his plan:

I. The tribunes were deprived of the right to propose laws to the people.

II. The people could no longer pass a law unless previously approved by the senate.

III. No man who had held the office of tribune could advance to a higher office; this was designed to keep men of any importance out of the tribunate.

IV. Sulla filled up the vacancies in the senate, greatly reduced by the proscriptions, by appointing three hundred new members from among the knights.

V. He restored to the senators the right of serving as judges in criminal cases.

VI. He suppressed the censorship. In the future every magistrate in retiring from office became senator by right.

Death of Sulla.—Sulla celebrated his triumph over Mithridates, followed by the nobles crowned with flowers and lauding him as their savior. He attributed his success less to his own talents than to the favor of the gods (the ancients regarded Fortune as a divinity). He took the surname *Felix* (Happy), called in Greek Epaphroditus, favored of Aphrodite, goddess of happiness. He named his children Faustus and Fausta (Favored). He established festivals in honor of Victory; consecrated to Hercules a tenth of his fortune, and gave to the people banquets where they were

served with very old wine and food in such abundance that they could not eat it all, and great quantities were thrown into the Tiber.

After giving the government once more into the hands of the senate, Sulla resigned the dictatorship and retired to his country-seat, where he entertained himself with musicians and actors. He was well guarded always by his veterans and his Cornelii, but he died within a very short time,—in a fit of rage, it is said (79 B.C.).

His body was brought to Rome and buried on the Campus Martius. All Italy came to join in his funeral ceremonies.

* In the dictatorship of Sulla can be seen the essence of the empire. It was one-man power. If he had had the constructive genius of a Julius Cæsar or the caution and craft of an Augustus, the principate would have come a generation earlier than it did.

The old constitution had proved unworkable. But another generation was to pass before the new system could come; a period filled with further civil wars.

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Florus.....	Bk. III, cc. i, iii, v.
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CHAPTER XV.

POMPEY.

Pompey.—After Sulla's death, the most important man in Rome was Gnaeus Pompeius, one of his generals. Pompey was a noble, son of a consul, and possessed extensive estates in Picenum. When only twenty-three years of age Pompey had recruited an army among his own tenants and led them to Sulla. He fought for Sulla in Italy, then in Sicily and in Africa.

Sulla became attached to Pompey. He permitted him to celebrate a triumph, although this was contrary to custom, Pompey not being old enough to be a magistrate. He also surnamed him the Great. Pompey became second to Sulla in Rome.

His figure was fine, like that of Alexander, and his bearing noble; he lived in great simplicity for a man of such wealth. He had many followers, especially among the nobles and the soldiers.

As soon as Sulla was dead, the consul Lepidus began to attack his work. He proposed to restore the confiscated lands of the Italians, the political rights of the sons of the proscribed, and the distribution of grain to the poor citizens of Rome (which Sulla had stopped). The senate sent him to Cisalpine Gaul to rid itself of him. Lepidus gathered an army in his province and tried to force a reelection as consul. This was the beginning of civil war (78 B.C.).

The senate gave the command of the army to Pompey although he had not yet become a magistrate. Pompey

went to subdue Cisalpine Gaul. Lepidus brought his army to Rome, but after a battle on the Campus Martius (77 B.C.) he fled, and died soon after.



POMPEY.

War against Sertorius.—The civil war was continued in Spain. Sertorius, formerly an officer under Marius, a man who had risen from the ranks to the point of being elected consul, had left Rome after Sulla's victory with a number of companions and taken refuge in Spain, first among the Moors and later in Lusitania (Portugal).

He won the confidence of the people about him by his justice and courage. With a small army of seven thousand

men he attacked the Roman generals, defeating four of them, and advanced little by little to the Ebro. He formed an army of Spanish barbarians, armed and disciplined like the Roman soldiers and commanded by Roman officers. He composed a Roman senate of proscribed nobles who had escaped from Rome and taken refuge in Spain. The remnant of the army of Lepidus came and joined him. The chiefs of the Spanish peoples entrusted their sons to his care; he brought them all to one city and had them brought up under Roman teachers.

Thus there grew up in Spain a party hostile to the senate. The senate sent its best generals against it. The first to go was Metellus, who was old and worn, and, being accustomed to regular warfare, was unable to cope with the ambushade attacks made by Sertorius. Pompey was sent to his relief. Pompey was wounded, but escaped while his enemies were busy dividing the trappings of his horse. He was saved from defeat only by the arrival of Metellus (76-74 B.C.).

Sertorius said: "If that old woman (meaning Metellus) had not arrived, I would have sent this child (Pompey) back to Rome with a good whipping."

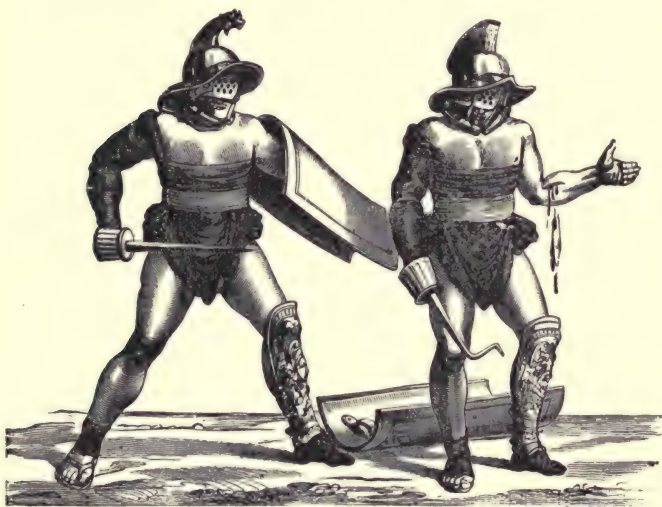
Metellus decided to place a price on the head of Sertorius, and promised one hundred talents (more than 100,000 dollars) to any man that would kill him. Some of his Roman officers conspired against him, invited him to a banquet and stabbed him (72 B.C.). After his death his army was dispersed.

War against Spartacus.—There had already been in Sicily two revolts of ill-treated slaves against their masters (135 and 103 B.C.). In each case a Roman army had to be sent to put down the movement.

In 73 B.C. a slave revolt began in Italy. There was at Capua a gladiatorial school (see page 354) where slaves were held and trained for the public amusement. Gauls and Thracians were prepared for this training, because reputed the bravest of the barbarians.

A band of these gladiators succeeded in escaping. Entering a cook-shop, they armed themselves with spits and chopping-knives and left the city. They met on their way chariots loaded with gladiators' arms; these they seized and entrenched themselves on a steep, vine-covered mountain. For their leader they chose a Thracian named Spartacus, who proved himself an excellent captain.

A small Roman army came and surrounded their moun-



GLADIATORS.

tain. Using the vines as ladders they descended the sharp peaks, made a sudden attack on the besieging army and put it to rout. The slave herdsmen of the neighborhood joined them, and they were soon an army.

Spartacus defeated three small Roman armies and led his men towards the Alps, where he intended to dismiss them, some to Thrace, the rest to Gaul. One after the other he met the armies of the two consuls and repulsed them.

The senate then gave command of the army to Crassus, one of Sulla's generals and the richest man in Rome,

The army of Spartacus was divided by nations: Germans, Gauls, and Thracians, all in their separate camps. Spartacus attempted to go to Sicily to incite an insurrection among the slaves, but the pirates who had promised to transport his men left them on the shore. Crassus attacked the bands of rebels one by one and exterminated them. Spartacus was killed in a battle (71 B.C.).

Pompey was returning from Spain with his troops, when he met by chance a band of fugitives and killed them. He wrote the senate that "Crassus had defeated the slaves, but that it remained for me to stamp out the war."

Pompey and Crassus, each with his army, arrived before Rome and arranged together that both should be elected consuls. Heretofore they had supported the senate, but on becoming consuls they returned to the *populares*, and had Sulla's chief laws repealed. The censorship was reëstablished and the powers of the tribunes restored (70 B.C.).

Verres.—Since Sulla had given criminal jurisdiction back into the hands of the senators, it had become impossible to convict a governor of a province; no matter what his crime, he was always acquitted.

A tribune publicly denounced the governor of Sicily, Verres, and a young orator named Cicero, undertook to accuse him before the tribunal (70 B.C.).

Verres had been governor of Sicily for three years and had been guilty of endless abuses, some of which follow:

He sold judgments and offices; no one could be elected to any city council without making a payment to him. In this way he extorted from a rich Sicilian over a million sesterces (\$50,000), his finest horses, silver plate, and carpets. He pronounced judgments regardless of forms.

He levied exorbitant taxes. From one city he extorted three hundred thousand bushels of grain beyond what was due, from another four hundred thousand. One city made bold to ask that the surplus be returned; the envoys were scourged and an additional four hundred thousand bushels

exacted. Verres had received from the Roman treasury thirty-seven million sesterces (nearly \$2,000,000) to buy grain; he kept the money and sent to Rome the grain he had stolen.

He had a great love for art treasures and took possession of them wherever he found them. From Messina he took the statue of Love by Praxiteles, from Agrigentum a beautiful vase, from Segesta the image of Diana, and from Enna the image of Ceres. When the king of Syria passed through his province with a collection of treasures to offer at the Capitol in Rome, Verres took them all from him.

When war broke out against the pirates Verres seized the opportunity to make the cities furnish ships, supplies, and sailors; he sold provisions, furloughs, and exemptions. His fleet, left without soldiers or sailors, was defeated, and the captains beheaded.

He imprisoned a Roman citizen who was in business at Syracuse. The citizen escaped to Messina; there Verres caught him and had him beaten by all his lictors at once and crucified with his face towards Italy. The victim kept repeating, "I am a Roman citizen." Both beating and putting a citizen to death were forbidden by law.

Verres did not deny these facts; he said, however, that he had used a third of his extortions to buy his judges. The most famous lawyer in Rome, Hortensius, was employed in his defence, and his successor in Sicily tried to prevent the collection of evidence against him. Cicero's charge was, however, so convincing that Hortensius could make no reply. Verres, feeling that there was no further hope for him, went into exile. This was all his punishment, but the affair raised so much scandal that the people passed a law altering the composition of the courts. Senators alone were no longer allowed to sit as judices (practically jurors), but knights and tribunes of the treasury were added in equal numbers by the Aurelian Law.

Second War against Mithridates.—Mithridates had meanwhile resumed the war. With the aid of a general sent by Sertorius, he once more conquered the little kingdoms of Asia Minor and attacked the province of Asia, promising the inhabitants that he would do away with the taxes.

He had reorganized his army, giving up his Greek phalanx, and drilling it after the Roman model. His cavalry, mounted on swift horses, were trained to manœuvre in small squadrons, feigning flight and suddenly returning to the charge.

Rome sent Lucullus against Mithridates. He found in Asia the two legions that had deserted Fimbria for Sulla, and with great difficulty restored discipline among them (74 B.C.). His first movement was to take possession of the Greek city of Cyzicus and destroy Mithridates' fleet (73 B.C.). He then entered the kingdoms conquered by Mithridates, passed through the ravaged country accompanied by thirty thousand natives carrying flour, and wintered in Mithridates' own kingdom (72 B.C.). His soldiers pillaged the kingdom and found booty so plentiful that an ox brought only one drachma (twenty cents) and a slave four; the rest of the booty could not find a purchaser at any price.

The next year Lucullus drove Mithridates back into the mountains, attacked his camp and captured it. Mithridates took refuge with his father-in-law, the king of Armenia, leaving word with his wives and sisters to kill themselves to avoid capture.

Lucullus spent two years in recovering the Greek cities from the kingdom of Pontus, which resisted him stubbornly, and in restoring order in the province of Asia. The Roman publicans and bankers were tormenting the people to wring from them the twenty thousand talents exacted by Sulla. The people were forced to sell their sons and daughters or submit to torture,—exposure to the sun in summer, to the cold in winter. Lucullus came to their assistance, and fixed the interest on their debt at twelve per cent.

War against Tigranes.—Tigranes, father-in-law of Mithridates, ruled over a kingdom which was at the time the largest in Asia. From the mountains of Armenia he had conquered the whole country from Media to the Taurus, even Syria. He had established a new capital, Tigranocerta, with a wall seventy-seven feet thick; he had dragged the inhabitants of several Greek cities here by force to make up a population. He called himself King of Kings; four kings formed his escort; when he seated himself on his throne they remained standing on the steps hand in hand, and when he rode out they ran before him.

At first he refused to receive Mithridates, placed him in a strong fortress and left him there for almost two years. When Lucullus sent to him to demand the surrender of Mithridates, he was offended by the proposal, and also by the fact that Lucullus addressed him simply as king, instead of king of kings. He sent for Mithridates and decided to attack the Romans.

Lucullus took the offensive, crossed the Euphrates and opened the attack. Tigranes was taken by surprise and fled with his treasure and his wives.

Tigranes had let himself be persuaded by his courtiers that Lucullus would not dare resist so great a king and would flee at the sight of him. When a messenger came to announce the arrival of Lucullus he had him put to death. After this no one dared warn him, and he therefore took no measures to defend himself.

The Romans laid siege to Tigranocerta. Tigranes came to relieve the city.

Lucullus led twelve thousand foot-soldiers and three thousand horsemen across the Tigris in the presence of the opposing army, and without giving the archers time to let fly their arrows, mounted the hill with his infantry. Reaching the summit he cried, "Victory!" attacked the fleeing Armenian cavalry, and hurled himself upon the infantry. The Romans had nothing further to do but slaughter at will.

According to the account given by Lucullus, Tigranes

had fifty-five thousand horsemen, one hundred and fifty thousand foot-soldiers, twenty thousand archers and slingers, and thirty-five thousand pioneers. The Romans lost but five killed and one hundred wounded (69 B.C.).

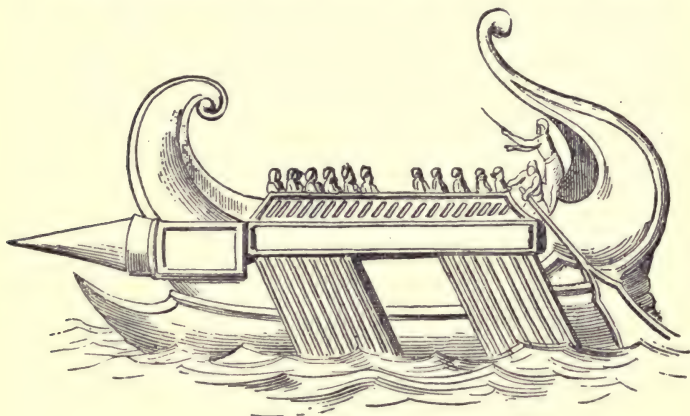
It is said that, before the battle, Tigranes, seeing the small number of Romans, said : " For an embassy they are many, but for an army very few."

Lucullus took Tigranocerta and sent home the Greeks and barbarians that Tigranes had brought there. He seized Tigranes' treasure, amounting to eight thousand talents, and from the rest of the booty gave eight hundred drachmas (\$160) to each soldier. His army was, however, too small, and his soldiers did not pay much attention to his orders. They thought him too proud, and reproached him for making them live in camp instead of letting them sack the rich cities, accusing him also of keeping all the money for himself and of employing them only as escort for his spoil-laden chariots and camels. They refused to fight and allowed Mithridates to return in arms to the borders of his kingdom (67 B.C.). Then Pompey came to assume command, and Lucullus was left with only sixteen hundred men (66 B.C.).

War against the Pirates.—The ports of Cilicia had long been infested with pirates, who made a business of capturing men and selling them as slaves. Rome had already sent her generals against them and even created a province of Cilicia with a proconsul and an army. It was not easy to destroy them, however, for, when pursued, they fled to the inaccessible mountains of the Taurus.

While Rome was occupied with her wars, the pirates were steadily increasing in number; they lent assistance to Mithridates and Tigranes, and finally formed an actual state with officers, strongholds, arsenals, and a fleet of war-vessels (numbering one thousand, it is said). They did not confine their operations to the Asiatic coast, but penetrated the Adriatic Sea and sailed around the coasts of Sicily and

western Italy. They not only attacked ships, but ravaged the coast, attacked cities (taking four hundred of them) and carried off members of rich families to get ransom for them. In this way they bore away from Italy two Roman prætors,



GREEK PIRATE VESSEL.

with their escort and lictors, and stole the daughter of a Roman dignitary on her way into the country.

Their ships were magnificent, with gilded stern, silver oars, and purple carpet covering the deck; they had banquets on board, with musicians to entertain them. They had grown to despise even the Romans. When a prisoner said he was a Roman, they amused themselves by pretending to be overcome with respect, threw themselves on their knees, begged pardon for their mistake, and brought him a toga so that in future his high position should not be mistaken. After this they brought a ladder, and, placing its foot in the sea, invited him to descend and return to his home in peace. If he refused, they threw him into the sea.

It was no longer safe to sail on the Mediterranean, and Rome could not obtain a sufficient supply of grain. The Roman people demanded energetic action, and passed a law giving Pompey special powers. He received the right for three years to command the entire coast fifteen miles back from the water, to raise one hundred and twenty thousand

soldiers, and equip five hundred galleys. All magistrates must obey him; twenty-four generals were subject to his orders. The people had vested Pompey with almost royal power, against the wish of the senate.

In six weeks Pompey drove the pirates from the waters of Italy and Sicily, and returned to Rome. In fifty days he drove them from the Grecian seas, pursued them to Cilicia, destroyed their fleet and forced them to surrender their capital. He spared all who gave themselves up and settled them in some eastern cities that he was repopulating (67 B.C.).

Pompey in Asia ; Third Mithridatic War.—By passing another law the people added to Pompey's powers command of the war against Mithridates and the government of all the Asiatic provinces. Pompey proceeded to assume command of the army of Lucullus (66 B.C.).

It is said that when the two generals met they began by exchanging compliments on their exploits, but ended by upbraiding one another, Lucullus reproaching Pompey for his ambition, Pompey reproaching Lucullus for his greed. Their friends separated them with difficulty.

This war was an easy one, Lucullus having destroyed the power of the two kings. Pompey pursued the small army of Mithridates and routed him. Mithridates escaped with one of his wives. He tried to take refuge with Tigranes, but Tigranes repulsed him and put a price on his head, while he himself went to the Roman camp and sued for peace. Pompey left him in possession of his kingdom, but made him pay an indemnity of six thousand talents. The Romans then attacked the Caucasus mountaineers, and advanced almost to the Caspian Sea (65 B.C.).

Pompey returned to reorganize the conquered countries. He made of Pontus and Bithynia a Roman province; the rest of Asia Minor he restored to the petty kings, who were Rome's allies. Syria, which Tigranes had taken from Antiochus, was not restored to its former king; Pompey

made it a Roman province, without waiting for orders from the senate. The Jews attempting resistance, he took Jerusalem and the Temple (63 B.C.).

Meanwhile Mithridates, who had taken refuge north of the Black Sea, was preparing to resume the war in Europe. His plan was to lead his allies, the barbarians of the Danube region, up the valley of the Danube, enlisting the warlike peoples on his way, and to invade Italy from the Alps. But his son, who was anxious to supplant him, rebelled and declared himself the ally of Rome. Mithridates killed himself to avoid being captured (63 B.C.).

Cicero and Catiline.—Rome was exposed to a great danger while Pompey was in the east.

Italy was full of discontent. There were the Italians whose land Sulla had taken to give to his veterans, and those veterans who had already sold their land; the descendants of the proscribed persons whose possessions Sulla had confiscated, and men who had been Sulla's followers and were discontented now that there were no more spoils for them.

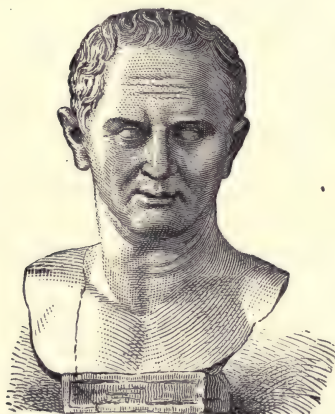
Lucius Sergius Catilina, one of the nobles that had done Sulla's butchering (he was said to have placed his brother's name on the list in order to get his fortune), was now ruined and in debt; he tried to unite the malcontents and incite them to revolution. He had won support among the dissipated and ruined young nobles in Rome by lending them money and furnishing them hunting dogs and horses. He arranged with them to assassinate both the consuls on their way to the Capitol, but the consuls were warned and the scheme fell through (63 B.C.).

Catiline continued his conspiracies. The anti-senatorial party supported him secretly. He offered himself for the consulship, but Cicero was elected over him (65 B.C.).

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the most famous of Roman orators, was only a knight and of moderate fortune. It was through his eloquence that he won fame and election to every

office, even the consulship, to which only nobles were ordinarily eligible. He had studied at Athens and Rhodes, and also in Asia, with the Greek orators and philosophers; he spoke easily, and with grace and spirit. He had pleaded a number of famous cases, and made a number of speeches in favor of Pompey.

Cicero devoted the year of his consulship to the suppression of Catiline, who meant to seize the power by force. Sulla's veterans, who had settled in Etruria, were to march on Rome, while Roman conspirators were to assassinate Cicero and the senators and set fire to the city. Cicero was warned beforehand and began to wear a coat of mail under his toga, and to walk always with an escort of knights. He tried to prevent Catiline's election as consul for the coming



CICERO.

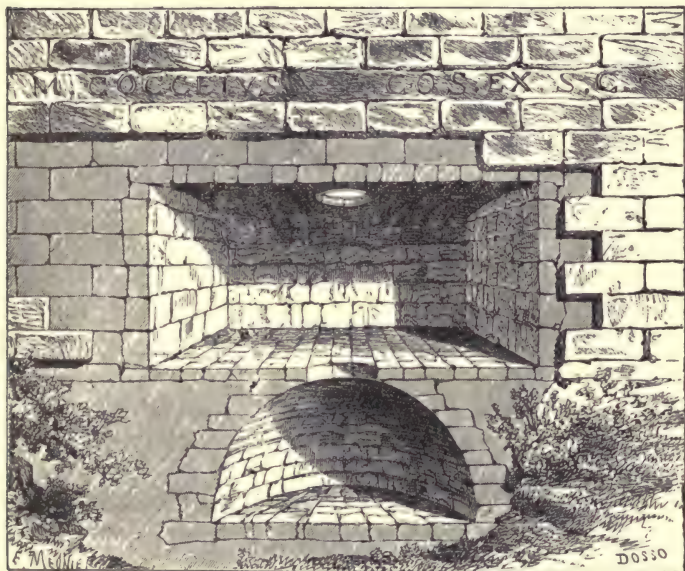
year, and succeeded by supporting two candidates who were friends of Crassus. He was, however, very nervous at times. He had no army with which to meet the conspirators, the legions being with Pompey in the East. The other consul, his colleague Antonius, secretly favored the conspirators, and the veterans were already assembled in arms.

Two proconsuls finally arrived with their troops.

The senate ordered the consuls to "see to it that the state suffered no harm."¹ This formula empowered Cicero to take what measures he deemed necessary. He stationed

[¹ The dictatorship, revived and perverted by Sulla, was no longer trusted. This formula gave as nearly dictatorial power as was deemed prudent, but divided it between the two consuls instead of assigning it to one man.]

soldiers at the city gates, in the public squares, and around the senate chamber. He then called the senate together and pronounced his famous discourse (*Orations against Catiline*, I), "How far, Catiline, will you provoke our patience?"



THE TULLIANUM.

Addressing himself directly to Catiline, he warned him that his plans were discovered and urged him to leave Rome.

Catiline left Rome and joined the army of veterans in Etruria, declaring that he had taken the part of the unfortunate against the rich.

His partisans in Rome were meantime making terms with the Allobroges, a Gallic people, who promised to furnish them with horsemen. The envoys, however, became alarmed and denounced the conspirators. On receiving the information Cicero sent for the five principal accomplices of Catiline and forced them to confess. Then he asked the

senate what should be done with these guilty men. The senate advised putting them to death. Cicero himself arrested them (one of them being a prætor, only a consul could arrest him) and took them to the Tullianum prison, where they were strangled. On his return Cicero said to the assembled crowds, "They have lived."

Catiline began the war in Etruria with twenty thousand men, but only five thousand of them had been able to procure arms. Cicero sent against him his colleague Antonius whom he distrusted, and placed a watch over him. The rebels began to desert. Catiline, left with three or four thousand men, attempted to cross the Apennines; driven back by an army coming from the north, he threw himself on Antonius. He fought bravely, but was killed, together with all his men (63 B.C.).

Cicero, in the pride of his victory and the surname "Father of his Country" which the senate had given him, thought himself the first man in Rome. He composed a piece of verse in which he said, "Let arms give place to the toga!" But when he wrote to Pompey as to an equal, Pompey took no notice of his letter. When, on quitting the consulship, he asked to address the people, a tribune forbade him to do so.¹

Cicero's only power was in his oratory, and henceforth Rome obeyed neither orators nor magistrates, but generals alone.

SOURCES.

- Appian *Civil Wars*, Bk. I, cc. xiii, xiv, Bk. II, c. i; *Foreign Wars*, Bk. XII, cc. x-xvii.
 Cicero *Orations*, especially *For the Manilian Law, Against Verres, and Against Catiline*; *Letters*.

¹ Cicero nevertheless succeeded in speaking. Every magistrate, on resigning his charge, had to swear before the assembled people that he had observed the laws. Cicero said: "I swear that I have saved the Republic," and the crowd applauded.

Eutropius.....	Bk. VI, §§ 1-16.
Florus.....	Bk. III, cc. v, vi.
Livy.	<i>Epit.</i> XCI-CLIII.
Paterculus.....	Bk. II, §§ 29-40.
Plutarch.	<i>Cato, Cicero, Crassus, Lucullus, Pompey, Sertorius.</i>
Sallust.....	<i>Conspiracy of Catiline.</i>

PARALLEL READING.

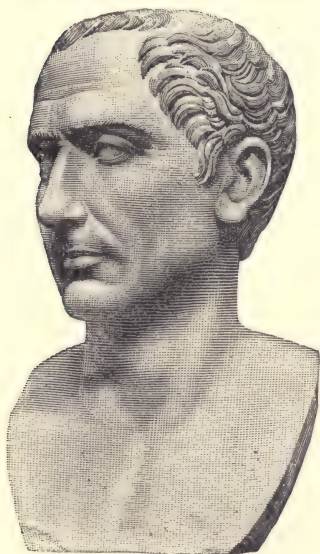
Duruy.....	cc. xlviii-li.
Mommsen.....	Bk. v, cc. iii-v.
Botsford.....	c. viii, pp. 175-182.
How and Leigh.....	cc. xlv-xlvii.
Morey.....	c. xxi, pp. 180-188.
Myers.....	c. xiv, pp. 264-283.
Pelham.....	Bk. IV, c. ii, pp. 240-252, c. iii, pp. 305 324.
Shuckburgh.....	cc. xlii, xliii.
Long.....	<i>Decline of the Roman Republic.</i>
Merivale.....	<i>The Fall of the Roman Republic</i> , cc. ii, iv, viii, xi.
Boissier, G.....	<i>Cicero and his Friends.</i>
Strachan-Davidson....	<i>Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Re- public</i> (Heroes).
Forsyth.....	<i>Life of Cicero.</i>
Middleton.....	<i>Life and Letters of Cicero.</i>

CHAPTER XVI.

CÆSAR AND THE CONQUEST OF THE GAULS.

Cæsar.—At the supreme moment of Pompey's power, Cæsar began to attract public attention.

Gaius Julius Cæsar came of a noble, even patrician family, but of the anti-senatorial party; he was a nephew of Marius, a son in-law of Cinna. Hearing that Sulla had talked of proscribing him, he had fled to Asia and was captured by the Cilician pirates.



JULIUS CÆSAR.

The pirates, we are told, demanded twenty talents for his ransom. He sneered at their ignorance of their prisoner's value and promised them fifty. While his friends were collecting this sum he remained with the pirates, playing games with them and reading poetry to them; when they did not show him enough admiration, he treated them as barbarians. He said to them: "When I am free you shall all hang for this." The pirates only laughed. As soon as his ransom was paid,

Cæsar went to Miletus, fitted out a number of ships, surprised the pirates, brought them in chains to Pergamum, and reported his action to the governor of Asia. As the governor delayed to pass sentence Cæsar returned to Pergamum, and, without waiting for orders, hanged the pirates, as he had promised to do.

On his return to Rome Cæsar led the life of the young noble of the day and gained the reputation of a spendthrift. He also attracted attention by his eloquence; when his aunt Julia, widow of Marius, died, he pronounced her eulogy in the Forum and made so bold as to have the images of Marius carried in the procession (see page 160). He also pronounced an oration over his wife, the daughter of Cinna. He became the favorite of the people's party and was elected quæstor in 68 B.C. and ædile in 65. Being obliged, as ædile, to provide games, he supplied three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators and armed them with gilded cuirasses. He placed in the temple of the Capitol images of Marius together with gilded statues of Victory. He borrowed enormous sums to meet these expenses.

He secured for himself the office of pontifex maximus. He was suspected of favoring Catiline. When Cicero asked the senate what should be done with the guilty, all voted for the death-penalty. Cæsar, however, proposed that they should be imprisoned.¹

Next he became prætor, and at the end of his term was sent as governor to Spain; his debts were so large that his creditors would not let him leave Rome. Crassus pledged himself as security for eight hundred and fifty talents.

On reading the life of Alexander one day, Cæsar is said to have wept, and cried: "Is it not pitiable that, at the age when Alexander had made all his conquests, I should not yet have done anything remarkable!"

The First Triumvirate.—About this time Pompey returned from the East, feeling sure of finding himself master in Rome. He landed in Italy, dismissed his soldiers, and celebrated his triumph. The senate, however, did not seem inclined to obey him, refusing to ratify as a whole the

[¹ Cæsar did not propose this as a mitigation of the penalty. Being a disbeliever in immortality he argued that death was only a momentary pang, and that life-imprisonment was much the severer penalty. It is inconceivable that Cæsar should have favored the schemes of a debauchee like Catiline.]

arrangements Pompey had made in Asia; it also refused to give land to his soldiers. Pompey was displeased and became hostile to the senate, as Crassus was already.

Cæsar now returned from Spain, reconciled Pompey and Crassus and made arrangements with them to take the power away from the senatorial party (60 B.C.). This understanding between these three men was called the triumvirate. The triumvirs were supported by the people and the soldiers and held the mastery over Rome.

Cæsar was elected consul, and, according to agreement, proposed to the people a set of laws ratifying what Pompey had done in Asia and giving land to twenty thousand of his soldiers. The other consul, Bibulus, who had been elected by the senatorial party, tried to prevent Cæsar from convoking the people. The assembly met in spite of him, and was protected by bands of armed men. Bibulus entered the assembly and declared the sky and the auspices to be unfavorable. But when he tried to speak he was thrown down the steps of the temple; a fight ensued and two tribunes were wounded. The laws were passed. Bibulus retired to his house and stayed there until the end of his consulate. He had declared every day to be a holiday, and ancient religion forbade the holding of assemblies on such days. The assembly met, however, in spite of his prohibition.

The people charged Pompey with the distribution of the lands. Cæsar secured for himself the government of three provinces with an army for five years (59 B.C.), and at the end of his consulate departed into Gaul, where he labored to attach the army to himself.

Gaul.—Rome had already subjugated a number of the countries inhabited by the Gallic tribes. Of the Po valley (the northern Italy of to-day) she had made Cisalpine Gaul; of the Rhone valley and the coast from the Alps to the Pyrenees she had made Gallia Narbonensis (see page 142). Cæsar had these two provinces and Illyria.

All the other Gallic countries (the greater part of France) still belonged to independent peoples. These peoples were not a nation, having very little in common, not even a name. They formed at least three distinct groups: in the south, between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, the Aquitani, a race similar to the Iberians in Spain; in the centre, between the Garonne and the Seine, the Celts or Gauls, akin to the Gauls Rome had fought in Italy; on the north, between the Seine and the Rhine, the Belgic Gauls, who were Celts with a mixture of Germans.

It appears that the Celts and Belgic Gauls, in their fighting element at least, were more like the Germans of to-day than the French. They had great white bodies, red hair, blue eyes, and big mustaches. They lived chiefly on meat and drank excessively of hydromel and a sort of beer made of barley. They fought either without clothing or in coats of mail, great helmets on their heads, and armed with heavy javelins and large swords which they carried on the right side.

They wore heavy garments, a sort of breeches, a colored tunic, and over all a sort of cloak clasped on the shoulder; their shoes were of wood. They lived in little round huts, but they had already provided themselves with strongholds into which to retire in time of war. The protecting walls were made of tree-trunks and stones, the wood keeping the stones from crumbling in the rain, while the stone kept the wall from destruction by fire.

We know very little of their religion, merely the names of their gods being preserved. We know that the Celts had priests whom we call druids. Every year at the waning of the last winter moon the druids went out into the forest to find a mistletoe growing on an oak. Then, robed in white, they went with great ceremony to cut the mistletoe with a golden sickle, and dipped it in water.

The country was divided among sixty small tribes, each of which formed an independent state, governing itself and

making war on the others. Their governments differed in form, some having a king, but the greater part were governed by a council composed of nobles and in some cases priests. These nobles were landowners and men of wealth. In war they fought on horseback, accompanied by their servants; Cæsar called them the knights.

These people were still barbarians, but they were beginning to trade with the Greeks in Massilia and the Romans in Narbonese Gaul. They wrote with the Greek alphabet. They stamped coins in imitation of those issued by the kings of Macedonia. They manufactured collars and trappings of silver. The inhabitants of the Bordeaux region worked iron-mines.

The Romans, having had control of southern Gaul since 120 B.C., had already entered into relations with the independent tribes and made alliance with the Ædui, who occupied the mountains west of the Saone. The Ædui invited the Romans into Gaul.

Wars against the Helvetii and Ariovistus (58 B.C.).—

The Ædui were on hostile terms with their neighbors: the Sequani, on their northern border (Franche-Comté), of whom they exacted a tax for every ship that passed up the Saone, and the Arverni on the west (Auvergne) whom they forbade to navigate the Loire.

The Sequani, wishing to make war on the Ædui, sent across the Rhine for a German named Ariovistus, chief of the tribe of Suevi. He came with fifteen thousand men and defeated the Ædui, but he established himself among the Sequani (in the neighborhood of Alsace), and forced them to yield to him two thirds of their territory. The Sequani were alarmed and effected a reconciliation with the Ædui, and an Æduan noble was sent to ask help of Rome.

The Helvetii, a Gallic tribe settled in Switzerland, then decided to move into Gaul. Their preparations occupied three years. When all was ready they burned their cities and towns and set out with their wives and children, their

chariots and all their movable possessions; in all three hundred and sixty-eight thousand people, of whom ninety-two thousand were warriors. They marched in bands, arranging to meet at the Rhone and together invade the territory of the Ædui.

Gaul thus suffered invasion by the Suevi and Helvetii at the same time.

Cæsar at first tried to stop the Helvetii. He reached Geneva and cut the bridge across the Rhone. When the Helvetii found the passage closed they crossed the Jura Mountains and descended to the Saone.

Cæsar had time to return to Italy and to bring with him five legions, and he attacked them just as they had crossed the Saone, then followed them for two weeks. A general battle was fought near Mâcon. The Romans were victorious and drove the Helvetii back to the chariots which formed their camp; there they met the women and children and a great massacre followed. Those who escaped surrendered themselves and were sent by Cæsar to their old homes.

Cæsar marched to the valley of the Rhine and established his camp opposite that of Ariovistus. The two chiefs had an interview, in which Ariovistus said: "This country belongs to me; I have conquered it as Rome conquered the Province." He added that men of high position in Rome had offered him their friendship if he would rid them of Cæsar.

Cæsar routed the barbarians and pursued them to the Rhine. Almost all of them were slain. Ariovistus himself escaped and returned to Germany. Gaul was now rid of barbarian invaders.

Conquest of Northern Gaul (57 B.C.).—The Roman legions, instead of returning to the Roman Province, remained in Gaul and wintered near the Saone. The Belgic Gauls, in the north, were displeased at the sight of these strangers settled near them, and made alliance together to expel the Romans in the spring.

Cæsar enlisted two new legions and made alliance with one of the tribes, the Remi (Rheims). He passed through their country and marched against the Belgic Gauls. Cæsar attacked their tribes one by one and forced them to make peace and give hostages.

Cæsar next attacked the Nervii (the Hainault of to-day) and exterminated their army.

He now marched against the allies of the Nervii, the Aduatuci, who were said to be descendants of the Cimbri, and had shut themselves up in their strong city, built on a rock. Cæsar took the city and sold the inhabitants as slaves.

In the same year the tribes between the Seine and the Loire surrendered and gave hostages.

When the winter came, Cæsar left seven legions established in Gaul north of the Loire.

Conquest of Western Gaul (56 B.C.).—During the winter the Gallic tribes along the ocean allied themselves against the Romans. They refused to furnish the legions with grain, and when the Roman envoys came to demand it of them, held them until Rome should restore their hostages. The most powerful of these tribes, the Veneti (Vannes), had a fleet of war.

Cæsar gave orders to fit out a fleet at the mouth of the Loire and, when spring came, marched against the Veneti with an army.

The war that ensued was a terrible one. It was impossi-



GALLIC PRISONERS AND TROPHY
(AT ORANGE).

ble to know where the Veneti might be found, for when attacked, they transported their forces to another point by sea. Their ships were built of good oak and were designed for rough weather, with a high prow so that they could not easily be boarded, a flat bottom so that they could sail in shallow water, anchors held by iron chains, and leather sails. The Romans could not sink them with the beaks of their galleys, for their oaken timbers were too solid; they could not hit the crew with their arrows, for even the towers of their galleys did not reach to the prows of the enemy's ships; neither could they pursue them into shallow water.

The Romans, seized with an idea, bound great scythes to long poles as handles. With these they attacked the enemy's fleet (two hundred and twenty ships) and cut the rigging, so that the sails fell. The ships, having no other means of motion, were rendered helpless, and were quickly attacked and captured by the Romans.

The Veneti sued for peace, but Cæsar treated them with great severity. He put the chiefs to death and sold the rest of the people into slavery.

In the same year, Labienus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, with three legions fought and subdued the tribes of the northwest (in Normandy). Another lieutenant, Crassus, son of the triumvir, crossed the Garonne and made war on the Aquitanian tribes.

Cæsar had won the regard of his soldiers. He spoke familiarly with them, knowing many of them by name, and in time of peace let them amuse themselves as they would and indulge their taste for fine armor and perfumery. "What harm is perfumery," he said, "so long as they fight well?"

During the winter Cæsar returned to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, and invited the young nobles who served as officers under him to join him there. He received them in richly furnished tents and entertained them with feasts where all talked together freely. He himself took up

writing as a pastime, and prepared a Greek treatise on grammar.

Renewal of the Triumvirate.—All this time the supporters of the senate and those of the triumvirs had kept up the struggle at Rome. Clodius, a young noble and a tribune of the people, had at his command a troop of armed men and was the real master of Rome; he was in alliance with Cæsar.

He wished to be rid of Cicero, and he carried a law condemning to exile any one who should have put a citizen to death without trial. Cicero had had Catiline's accomplices executed; he was therefore condemned to exile and his house torn down (58 B.C.).

Clodius had a disagreement with Pompey. Pompey then made a reconciliation with the party of the senate and proposed a law to recall Cicero from exile. On this occasion the senate party had employed a band of armed men, under command of another tribune, Milo. Milo's men and those of Clodius fought in the assembly, so that blood flowed to the Tiber. Cicero's brother was wounded and escaped only by hiding among the dead (57 B.C.).

This event was followed by a dearth in the land. Pompey used the opportunity to carry a law giving him for five years absolute control over the markets and ports of Italy. He wanted also an army with which to conquer Egypt, but this the senate refused; and this was the occasion of another fight between the supporters of Pompey and the bands controlled by Clodius.

Cæsar, seeing Pompey and Crassus on bad terms with the senate, suggested to them a renewal of their alliance with him. During the winter he came to the border of his province; the others joined him at Lucca, bringing with them two hundred senators and so many governors that their lictors numbered one hundred and twenty.

At this conference of Lucca the triumvirs decided to secure for each an army for five years (56 B.C.).

Pompey and Crassus then returned to Rome to stand for election as consuls. The senate decreed public mourning and the senators descended to the Forum in a body; the people began to hiss them, however, and they quickly returned to their meeting-place. For several months the senate observed mourning, holding no meetings and taking no part in festivities.

Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Then, according to agreement, Pompey received the provinces of Spain and Africa, with four legions, while Crassus took the province of Syria with the right to enroll as many soldiers as he wished. Cæsar's command was extended five years, and he was given the right to pay his soldiers out of the public treasury.

On the day that the people passed this law, a tribune belonging to the senatorial party attempted to dissolve the assembly. Being unable to reach the rostrum, he mounted on the shoulders of his attendants and cried out that Jupiter was thundering. (Thunder was an unlucky sign and forbade the holding of an assembly.) The people attempted to kill the tribune (55 B.C.).

Cæsar's Campaigns on the Rhine and in Britain.—Cæsar had subjugated the Gauls and now extended his campaign beyond their borders. There were two German tribes that had crossed the Rhine and invaded the territory of the Belgic Gauls. Cæsar summoned deputies from the Gallic peoples and, receiving reinforcements of horsemen from them, marched towards the Rhine. Meeting the Germans, he attacked them at the junction of the Rhine and the Meuse, and slew them all, men, women, and children.

Then, to frighten the peoples of Germany, he built over the Rhine a bridge made of tree-trunks, and completed it in ten days; he crossed the river and ravaged the right bank, then, returning, cut the bridge and once more entered Gaul.

Cæsar wished to intimidate the people of Britain as well.

He departed with eighty ships and two legions, made a landing after a battle at the water's edge, secured hostages, and returned to Gaul.

The next year he went again to Britain, this time with ships which he had had made for the special purpose, provided both with oars and sails, and large enough to carry baggage and horses; he was accompanied by five legions and two thousand horsemen. Cassivellaunus, a British chief, blocked the Roman advance with hedges of tree-trunks. After a number of battles Cæsar crossed the Thames and, guided by an enemy of Cassivellaunus, surrounded him and took his stronghold. The British chief sued for peace (54 B.C.).

Cæsar returned to Gaul, with the distinction of being the first Roman to lead an army across the Rhine and across the English Channel.

Revolts in Gaul.—The Gallic peoples, however, were extremely restive under Roman control, and in the years from 54 to 51 B.C. many rebellions occurred among them. The most formidable of these was under Ambiorix in the north and Vercingetorix in the south. After a protracted struggle, checkered with many reverses for the Romans, the revolts were stamped out and punished with merciless severity.

This was the final struggle. Cæsar boasted that in eight years he had taken eight hundred cities, subjugated three hundred peoples, slain a million men and sold a million into slavery. The whole of Gaul as far as the Rhine was now Roman territory.

Cæsar spent another year visiting the Gallic tribes and organizing the government. The enemies of Rome had perished and Cæsar endeavored to attach the survivors to him. He left them in possession of their lands and imposed but a slight tax on them. His chief demand was for auxiliary soldiers. The nobles followed him willingly, and he formed a Gallic legion which was nicknamed "the Lark."

He could now leave Gaul, and he brought away with him the army he had gone there to mould.

*** Importance of the Gallic Conquest.**—The immediate result of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul was to give him the military prestige which he foresaw to be essential to his political ambitions. It did more than to furnish him the skill and the reputation he was anxious to gain: it also furnished ready to his hand the tool with which to work. He had knit his legions so firmly to himself that they were ready to follow him into Italy in defiance of law, and to become his personal army rather than a force at the service of the state as a whole. This was militarism again, but was only what had occurred in the case of Sulla, and what was being done by Pompey. As events were to follow, it was well for Rome and for the world that this should be so.

Of even greater value in the history of civilization was the Romanizing of Gaul. Gaul was to be a source of strength to the empire; not as a field for exploitation, but by the extension of the Latin language and ideas and mode of life. For Gaul was thoroughly Romanized, and in the days when Italy should have spent all her vital energy, was to be the home of a culture and stability superior to that of the peninsula.

This Romanizing process also put an end to the danger of Gallic invasion from that quarter, and preserved one of the best portions of the empire for centuries from the Germanic inroads. While these were to be ultimately the source of new life to a decadent world, it was well that west of the Alps a thoroughly Latinized state should be built up. As a result we shall see Gaul becoming France; a Romance nation with all its possibilities for a brilliant civilization and splendid contributions to the world's welfare. Cæsar made Clovis, and later Charlemagne, possible, with all the benefits they were to confer upon the mediæval time. The Teutonic and the Gallo-Frankish elements were to be the two pinions on which European life was to soar far higher than in the

best of classic days. Without the peculiar contribution of Gaul that flight would have been but lame and low.

Death of Crassus.—While Cæsar was putting down the Gallic revolts, Crassus had gone to Syria to make war on the Parthians (54 B.C.).

The kingdom of the Parthians included almost the same countries that had formed the ancient kingdom of the Persians, and the Parthians had adopted the customs of the Persians, their luxury and their flowing robes; at the same time they preserved their old fashion of fighting on horseback, bow in hand, retiring as they shot.

Crassus led his army across the Euphrates, but soon returned to Syria and went into winter quarters.

When he returned to the country, the king of Armenia, who was Rome's ally, offered to lead him by a safe road. Crassus refused the offer, and crossed the Euphrates with seven legions and four thousand cavalry. An Arabian chief came to him with a report that the Parthians were fleeing with their treasure and offered to guide him across the desert in pursuit of them. Crassus followed him. This Arab was sent by the Parthian king, and he led the Romans into a desert of burning sand.

All at once the Parthian horsemen made an attack. Their arrows, shot from great strong bows, pierced the shields and helmets of the Romans; when their quivers were emptied they galloped to the rear, where they found camels laden with arrows, and replenished their stock.

The son of Crassus, who commanded thirteen hundred Gallic horsemen, attempted to charge on the Parthians; the Parthians pretended to flee, drawing on the little troop in pursuit, then surrounded it. The young Crassus, whose hand had been wounded by an arrow, ordered an attendant to kill him.

Crassus saw his son's head carried on a pike; his soldiers were too wearied and terrified to fight any more. He decided to retreat, and left his wounded to be murdered by

the enemy. The Parthian general proposed an interview, and on his way to the camp Crassus was killed and his head carried before the Parthian king. His whole army was either killed or taken prisoner, and the Roman standards fell into the hands of the enemy (53 B.C.).

The death of Crassus left only Pompey and Cæsar before the public. War was to decide which of these two should be master.

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CHAPTER XVII.

END OF THE REPUBLIC.

Rupture between Pompey and Cæsar.—Pompey, instead of going to Spain, had remained near Rome. He built a new theatre with raised seats accommodating forty thousand spectators, and inaugurated it with grand festivals in which five hundred lions took part.

The elections were hotly contested throughout the period. In 53 B.C. there was a seven months' deadlock. Pompey's party proposed to make him dictator; then the candidates made war on one another with archers and slingers.

The senate resigned itself to appeal to Pompey in order to end the disorder. Pompey was elected consul alone, without a colleague and with special powers, although, being governor of Spain, he had not even the right to stay in Rome.

Now that Pompey was master of Rome, he thought he had no further need of Cæsar; he refused to marry his daughter and took for his colleague a personal enemy of Cæsar's. He carried a law prolonging his command in Spain and Africa for five years, and then, instead of going to his province, remained in Rome.

Cæsar's command came to an end in March, 49 B.C. The senatorial party wanted to rid itself of him by making him return to Rome without an army and without power; it would then be easy to have him condemned. But a law had been passed in 52 B.C. which permitted a man to be elected consul without presenting himself in person before

the voters, according to custom. The consul proposed that the senate should order Cæsar to return without awaiting the end of his term. The tribune Curio suggested that Cæsar and Pompey should be made to abdicate at the same time. They agreed, but each waited for the other to resign first.

A report now reached Rome that Cæsar had been attacked by the Gauls and was in great danger. The senate decided to recall Cæsar and send another man to succeed him. Curio proposed that Pompey's power should also be withdrawn, and the senate agreed by a vote of 370 to 22. The consul Marcellus was angry and dismissed the senate, sought out Pompey and ordered him to take command of the troops in Italy.

Cæsar again offered to resign if Pompey would do likewise, but the senate refused to read his letter. Pompey camped before Rome and led his troops into the city. The senate could resist him no longer; it declared Cæsar a public enemy and gave his provinces to other governors. The tribunes who had supported Cæsar fled to place themselves under his protection (49 B.C.).

Cæsar in Italy.—Cæsar was at Ravenna, on the border of his province, with a legion. He sent his soldiers on in secret, while he himself the next morning crossed the frontier and joined his troops at Ariminum.

The story was told later that when on the point of crossing the Rubicon, a small mountain torrent which marked the boundary of Cisalpine Gaul, Cæsar stopped, hesitating to break the law which forbade him to leave his province in arms. Then he cried, "The die is cast!" and crossed the stream.

Cæsar's army followed close after him. Pompey's army was in Spain. Somewhat earlier Pompey, being asked how he proposed to defend himself, replied, "Whenever I stamp my foot on Italian soil, legions will spring up." He had not counted on Cæsar's sudden return. "Stamp your foot now," some one said to him; "it is time."

Pompey had not enough troops to defend Italy. He left Rome with the senators, but had not time to bring away the contents of the treasury with him. Cæsar soon reached Rome, almost without resistance. He declared everywhere that he had come "to deliver the Roman people from a tyrannous faction and to restore the power of the tribunes." He was careful to injure no one. To the soldiers whom he captured he gave the choice of serving under him or departing in freedom, saying, "Whoever is not against me is for me."

Pompey and his party, on the other hand, talked of vengeance and of proscribing their adversaries. They had no hope of defending Italy, however, and they set sail for the opposite coast of the Adriatic.

Cæsar entered Rome and remained there a few days. He then rejoined his troops in Gaul and led them against Pompey's legions in Spain. In forty days he made Pompey's two generals capitulate, and returned to force the surrender of Massilia, which his fleet had already blockaded (49 B.C.).

Cæsar's Victory at Pharsalus.—Pompey was still master of the whole Orient. He had a fleet in the Adriatic and an army in Macedonia. Cæsar had no fleet, but boldly brought his army across the Adriatic, while Pompey's ships were all in winter quarters. He landed at Epirus with fifteen thousand foot-soldiers and sent his transports back for reinforcements.

It was said that one day, impatient at seeing no reinforcements arriving, Cæsar disguised himself and set out in a small boat to cross the Adriatic among the enemy's ships. A storm arose and the pilot wished to turn back. Cæsar said to him, "Never fear; you carry Cæsar and his good luck." They were nevertheless obliged to return.

When the reinforcements finally arrived, Cæsar attempted to surround Pompey's army, and camped near Dyrrachium with a line of entrenchments; the work occupied four months. But his army was only half as large as Pompey's, and he had no fleet, no money, and no stores; his soldiers

were reduced to eating ground roots. Pompey meanwhile received his provisions by sea. Cæsar attacked him, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty-two standards. Labienus, Cæsar's former lieutenant, who was now fighting under Pompey, had the prisoners massacred.

Cæsar passed into Thessaly, where his soldiers found plenty of food. Pompey followed him. He had forty-seven thousand legionaries and seven thousand horsemen; Cæsar but twenty-two thousand foot-soldiers and one thousand horsemen. Pompey drew up his troops on the plain of Pharsalus, his right protected by the steep bank of a mountain stream; on his left he stationed his cavalry, with which, composed of young nobles, well mounted and armored, he proposed to make a flank movement.

Cæsar arranged his men in four lines; the two first were to attack, leaving the third, as usual, to act as reserve. With the fourth, composed of old soldiers, he proposed to meet Pompey's cavalry, giving them orders to hold their javelins like pikes until the enemy was close enough to strike at their faces.

Cæsar's first lines charged on a run and hurled their javelins. Pompey's cavalry threw themselves on the right wing. Cæsar's veterans met them with blows on the face, routed them, and, pursuing them, attacked Pompey's left wing. The reserve came up and Pompey's army broke ranks. Pompey, hearing Cæsar's men attack his camp, cried, "What! in my camp already?" and fled on his horse. He had been so confident of victory that he had arranged no rallying-ground; his whole army was therefore scattered and taken prisoner (48 B.C.).

Pompey fled to the protection of the king of Egypt; the king had him assassinated.

Cæsar's Wars in the East, in Africa, and in Spain.—Cæsar was now alone at the head of the government. He had still to fight two years, however, to subdue the provinces that had belonged to Pompey.

He first went to Egypt with a small army of four thousand men. Pompey's head was brought to him, and he buried it with respect. He spent the winter at Alexandria, where he was besieged by twenty thousand Egyptian soldiers, not to mention the inhabitants of the city. After many narrow escapes he was finally relieved by a small army which came from Asia to help him. He gave the kingdom to Cleopatra.

He then gathered together some troops and marched against Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, who had taken advantage of the civil war to conquer the kingdom of Pontus and invade Asia Minor. This war lasted only five days, and was described by Cæsar in the famous phrase, "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (47 B.C.).

Returning he found that Rome had just emerged from a state of riot with a considerable loss of life. He himself quelled a military riot, caused by soldiers quartered in Campania who had come to Rome to claim their discharge and the rewards promised them. Cæsar assembled the rebels on the Campus Martius and addressed them with severity, saying: "You are free. Go, Quirites." (Citizens outside of the army were called Quirites.) The soldiers felt the general's reproach keenly and begged for pardon.

There was still an army of sixty thousand men in Africa, commanded by the senatorial party and maintained by Juba, king of the Numidians. This army had defeated two legions sent against it by Cæsar in 49 B.C., and now threatened to cross into Italy. Cæsar decided to attack it. He left Rome in the winter of 47 B.C., crossed the Mediterranean with five thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry, and without baggage; finding himself face to face with an army of ten times his numbers, he dared not leave the protection of his camp. At the end of two months reinforcements came, and he besieged Thapsus. The army of Pompeians offered battle to deliver the city, but were routed. Many

prisoners were massacred, and the chiefs killed themselves¹ (46 B.C.).

Cæsar returned to Rome and celebrated four triumphs at once, commemorating his victories over Vercingetorix, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba. He gave the people a banquet of twenty-two thousand tables, each with three couches, distributed five thousand denarii (1000 dollars) to each soldier, and to each citizen one hundred denarii (20 dollars), ten bushels of grain, and ten pounds of oil.

The last war took place in Spain. Pompey's son had formed thirteen legions of the soldiers belonging to Pompey's former Spanish legions, the remnant of the army in Africa, and a following of adventurers and freedmen. Cæsar left for Spain in 46 B.C., arriving in Corduba (Cordova) in twenty-seven days. The enemy evaded a battle, and Cæsar had to waste the whole winter in a campaign of skirmishes. This was finally ended in the spring by the battle of Munda, in which the enemies' army was routed and slaughtered. Sextus Pompeius was captured and killed (45 B.C.).

This was the end of resistance to Cæsar.

Cæsar's Dictatorship, Reforms, and Projects.—In 49 B.C. Cæsar became master of Rome, and so remained for four and a half years. He abolished none of the established powers, but preserved the magistrates, senate, and assembly of the people. He had, however, secured for himself the title of dictator (with a master of the horse chosen by himself), first for one year, then (46 B.C.) for ten years, and finally for life. His power was thus superior to all others. He secured the right to decide questions of peace and war, the power of the tribuneship, and the appointment of half the magistrates. The people elected the other half of the



CÆSAR AS PERPETUAL DICTATOR.

¹ The descendant of the old Cato killed himself at Utica, gaining thereby the name of Cato of Utica, under which he has held a place in history.

magistrates, but could not vote for a candidate unless he was approved by Cæsar. He secured also the *præfectura morum*, the power of censorship, with the right to control the list of senators and citizens. Many senators having perished in the civil war, Cæsar appointed others in such numbers that the senate was increased to nine hundred members. These new appointments included a number of provincials, notably Gauls. The Romans made sport of these strangers. Some one put up a placard about Rome which read: "Please do not show the new senators the way to the Curia (senate chamber)."

The senate decreed special honors for Cæsar: a bronze statue, the right to wear a crown of laurel, an annual public holiday dedicated to him, a golden chair, a purple robe, and the title of Father of the Country; in the senate he sat between the two consuls on a curule chair raised above the rest; his image was stamped on the coinage.

There were many people at Rome who thought that Cæsar desired the title of king. In 44 B.C., during the feast of the Lupercalia, Cæsar was seated on the rostrum before the assembled masses in the Forum. Antony, who was consul at the time, presented him with a diadem formerly worn by the kings of the East. Some of the attendants applauded, but the crowd seemed dissatisfied. Cæsar raised his hand and removed the diadem, and the crowd applauded. Antony presented it once more, but Cæsar was now sure of the people's feelings, and he refused it, ordering it to be placed on the statue of Jupiter on the Capitol.

Cæsar's mind was occupied with his wars, and he remained in Rome but fifteen months altogether. He made a number of reforms.

He established his veterans (eighty thousand, it is said) as colonists in the districts of Italy that had been depopulated by the war.

He made out a definite list of all citizens who were entitled to the distribution of grain, reducing the number from three

hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand.

He reformed the calendar. The Roman month was



TOMB OF CESTIUS, BUILT IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR.

calculated by the course of the moon, so that twelve months did not make a year, but only three hundred and fifty-five days. It was the custom to fill up the extra days from time to time by intercalations, but during the disturbances through which Rome had just passed this had been neglected

and there was a surplus of sixty-seven days to be disposed of. Cæsar, on the advice of Egyptian astronomers, decided that the year 45 B.C. should have four hundred and forty-five days. This was "the last year of the confusion." Henceforth the year, regulated by the course of the sun, should have three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days. This is the Julian Calendar.¹

Cæsar had many other projects in mind. He wished to establish a library at Rome, and a port at Ostia, to pierce the isthmus of Corinth, drain the Pontine Marshes, and change the course of the Tiber. He planned also to fight the Parthians, and had already collected an army.

Murder of Cæsar (44 B.C.).—There was more or less discontent among the Roman nobles, even those who belonged to Cæsar's party and had received from him appointment as magistrates and senators. They chafed under the control of a master so much more powerful than they. Cæsar seemed to them a tyrant who had destroyed the old constitution and was preparing to become king.

Sixteen of these malcontents arranged to rid themselves of Cæsar by assassination. The chief conspirators were two prætors, Cassius, the man who saved Syria from the Parthian invasion, and Brutus, who claimed descent from the Brutus that had expelled the last king of Rome. Brutus was especially beloved by Cæsar.

It was said that Brutus had been drawn into the plot as a means of doing honor to his ancestor. Each morning brought him anonymously some such word as this: "You sleep, Brutus, and Rome is in chains," or: "No, this is not Brutus."

The conspirators decided to kill Cæsar in the senate chamber on the Ides of March. Cassius wanted to kill the consul Antony also, but Brutus refused, desiring to smite only the tyrant.

Some say that Cæsar was warned; a paper was handed to him as he left his house, with a request to read it alone and quickly;

¹ The month of July took Cæsar's name, *Julius*; before this it had been called Quintilis, the fifth.

he was disturbed, however and reached the senate without having had time to do so. Others say his wife had a bad dream and begged him not to leave the house that day. There is also a story that a soothsayer had told him to beware the Ides of March. Cæsar met him that day and said to him mockingly, "Well, the Ides of March are here," and the soothsayer replied, "Yes, but they are not yet gone."

Cæsar entered the senate on the appointed day. The conspirators were already grouped about his seat, with daggers hidden in their robes. Cæsar seated himself, and while one of the conspirators besought him for a pardon for his brother, the rest surrounded him, drew their daggers and killed him.

At first Cæsar tried to defend himself, but when he saw his favorite Brutus raise his hand against him he cried, "And thou too, Brutus!" and, covering his face with his toga, made no further resistance. He received twenty-three wounds.

The senators fled from the hall. The conspirators ran to the Forum and showed their bloody daggers, crying aloud that the tyrant was dead. But the people had loved Cæsar and they pursued his slayers with threats, so that these took refuge on the Capitol with a troop of armed men. A number of senators joined them there. On the following day Brutus descended to the Forum and addressed the people. They listened to him, but when another of the conspirators began to abuse Cæsar, they drowned his voice with their cries. The conspirators returned to the Capitol.

Antony, the consul, and Lepidus, the master of the horse, had hidden themselves in their first fright. They now took courage. Lepidus left Rome and returned with a body of Cæsar's veterans. Antony assumed charge of Cæsar's papers and money (amounting to four thousand talents = 2,000,000 dollars) and the public treasury. With the soldiers and money, Lepidus and Antony were masters of Rome and decided to take action together against the conspirators. Antony summoned the senate to a hall surrounded by soldiers. The senators were at first inclined to declare

Cæsar a tyrant and his acts abolished; this would have included the discharge of all officials appointed by him. Cicero proposed and the senate agreed to vote at once for amnesty for Cæsar's murderers and ratification of his acts (adding: for the good of the republic).

Antony had Cæsar's will read to the people. He left his fortune to his nephew, his palace and gardens to the people, and a small sum of money to each citizen. These generous provisions rekindled the people's wrath against the murderers.

Then came the funeral ceremonies. The funeral-pyre had been made ready on the Campus Martius, but Antony had the body laid out on an ivory couch in the Forum and addressed the people from the rostrum. The crowd became excited, set fire to the senate chamber and, tearing down the rostrum and benches, heaped up the *débris* together with their javelins in an improvised pyre, and burned the body of Cæsar in the Forum.

The conspirators hastened from Rome, Cassius to Syria, Brutus to Macedonia. Another of them, Decimus Brutus, was already in his province, Cisalpine Gaul.

A war ensued between the two parties, the friends of Cæsar and his murderers.

Octavius.—Octavius, the son of Cæsar's sister and his heir, was a young man of nineteen, delicate, pale, and not overbrave, but ambitious and prudent. His uncle had already made him senator, then pontiff. He was in Epirus at this critical time. He came back to Rome and declared Cæsar's will accepted, whereby he was adopted as heir.¹ Antony had taken possession of the money and refused to give it up, declining to render an account to so young a man. Octavius sold Cæsar's estates and all his own possessions, and borrowed enough additional money to maintain an army of ten thousand men at his own expense. His

¹ Henceforth he bore his uncle's name, calling himself Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus.

soldiers were almost all men who had served under Cæsar, and he promised each two thousand sesterces (one hundred dollars). Antony promised only four hundred, and two of his legions passed over to Octavius.

Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, was in Cisalpine Gaul with his army. Antony went to besiege him in Mutina (44 B.C.).

Octavius placed himself at the service of the senate. Cicero spoke earnestly in his favor and pronounced against Antony a number of discourses which he called *Philippics*, in memory of the orations of Demosthenes against Philip. The senate gave Octavius the powers of a consul, and charged him to go with the two consuls and relieve Mutina. Antony was defeated and fled, and the two consuls were killed (43 B.C.).

The senate, feeling no further need of Octavius, rescinded his powers and even refused him a triumph and the money he required to pay his soldiers.

Triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus.—Octavius abandoned the senatorial party, came to Rome with his army and was elected consul; he took from the treasury the money he had promised his soldiers, and instituted proceedings against the murderers of Cæsar.

Lepidus and the governors of Spain and Gaul had meanwhile joined Antony, together with their troops; Antony returned to Italy with twenty-three legions. Octavius, Lepidus, and Antony resolved to take joint action against the conspirators. They met in a little island in the middle of a river near Bologna, and, each first securing himself with great care against the other, they devoted three days to making their arrangements. They then read the plan to their armies, and, gaining their approval, all marched on Rome together. There they secured the consent of the people to what they had already agreed upon among themselves.

They were appointed “triumvirs to organize the repub-

lic," with absolute power for five years.¹ They were allowed to take from the treasury enough money to give each of their soldiers five thousand denarii. A new law created eighteen colonies of veterans in Italy; that is to say, the inhabitants of eighteen Italian towns were forced to give up their lands to veterans.

The triumvirs published proscription lists. Whosoever name was entered there must die, and a reward was paid for his head. Each of the triumvirs had placed on the list the names of his personal enemies. Antony had included Cicero, whom he detested on account of the Philippics. Cicero had already fled, but was captured and killed; his head was brought to Antony, who had it set up on the rostrum in the Forum.

We are told that Antony gazed long at the head in fits of laughter, and that his wife Fulvia amused herself with sticking pins into the tongue which had so lashed her husband.

The triumvirs were masters of Rome and of the west, but the conspirators held all the east; Cassius was in Asia and Brutus in Macedonia, each with a great army. The general sent against Cassius had been surrounded and had killed himself.

Antony and Octavius entered Macedonia with a force of eighty thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry. Cassius joined Brutus and they camped on the great plain of Philippi, in communication with the sea, by which they received their provisions. The army of the triumvirs was short of supplies. Cassius desired to avoid a battle, hoping that the enemy's army might die of starvation. But Brutus was disturbed by seeing his soldiers desert to the other army, and he decided to fight.

Two battles took place at Philippi. In the first Brutus routed Octavius, while Antony surrounded Cassius and took his camp. Cassius killed himself. In the second engage-

¹ This was a new title; Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus did not call themselves triumvirs officially.

ment the soldiers of Cassius fled, and the army of Brutus was crushed. Brutus followed the example of Cassius (42 B.C.) and put an end to himself.

The triumvirs shared the provinces: Lepidus took Africa; Octavius remained in Italy to distribute the lands promised to the veterans; Antony went to the East to raise the money promised to the soldiers.

This was a time of distress. The distribution of land ruined a part of Italy. The landowners, deprived of their property, either wandered away without means of support, or else offered resistance. The eighteen towns sacrificed to the veterans were, besides, not enough for all of them. The treasury was empty; the country was ruined and could pay no more taxes.

Rome herself was suffering from famine. During the last wars Sextus Pompeius, a son of the former great Pompey, who had taken refuge in Sicily, had formed a fleet. He ruled the sea and allowed no ships to bring grain to Rome from Sicily and Africa. Bread riots began in Rome.

Now that Antony and Octavius were rid of their common enemies they began to quarrel with each other. Antony's wife and brother attempted to incite a war in Italy, and when Antony returned from the East to raise troops for the Parthian war, Octavius wished to arrest him. But their soldiers did not want to fight one another and the chiefs were forced to a reconciliation at Brundisium. Antony married Octavia, sister of Octavius, and divided the provinces with his brother-in-law (40 B.C.).

The Romans then obliged both of them to make peace with Sextus Pompeius. They had an interview with him at Misenum, on the coast, and promised him command of the fleet and the coast, in addition to the consulship and the government of Greece (39 B.C.). This arrangement did not last long. Antony refused to give up Greece to Pompey; Octavius took Sardinia from him by treachery, and then attacked him in Sicily and destroyed his fleet. Pompey fled

to Asia, but was captured and put to death in 35 B.C. His army remained at Messina. Lepidus assumed command of it, intending to keep Sicily for himself. When Octavius came to the camp, all the soldiers joined him, and Lepidus, abandoned by his soldiers, asked pardon of Octavius, and was allowed to retain his fortune.

There were now only two masters, Octavius in the west, Antony in the east.

Antony and Cleopatra.—On arriving in Asia, Antony had fallen under the spell of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. She was a small woman, endowed with great beauty, brilliancy, and fascination. She had earlier won Cæsar's heart and had by him a son named Cæsarion.

She had given aid to Brutus and Cassius, and Antony summoned her to Tarsus to give her an opportunity to justify herself. She came, and Antony fell victim to her charms.

Their first interview is described in this fashion: Cleopatra arrived in a barge with purple sails, silver oars, and golden stern, moving to the music of flutes and lyres. The queen herself, in the guise of Venus, reclined under a gold-embroidered pavilion, surrounded by children as Cupids; her women, attired as nymphs, held the tiller and the ropes. The odor of burning perfumes filled the air. The people who gathered to behold this spectacle said that Venus was coming to visit Bacchus. Cleopatra had her barge brilliantly lighted by torches, and entertained Antony at supper.

Antony was immediately fascinated by Cleopatra and followed her to Alexandria, where they spent several months together.

Cleopatra, it is said, never left Antony's side. She drank and played with him, and accompanied him to the hunt and even to his military exercises. When he sought amusement by night in the streets of Alexandria, disguised as a servant, she followed him in a similar disguise, both meeting with more or less rough treatment.

They founded a society whose aim was to be as extravagant as possible. In Antony's kitchen there were eight wild boars on the spit at one time, so that one might always be ready when the master should order dinner. Cleopatra found a method of

spending an immense sum at one meal, by dissolving in vinegar a pearl of great price and drinking it.

Antony had to interrupt this life of pleasure to return to Italy in search of troops, for the Parthians, aided by a Roman general of Pompey's party, had invaded Syria. One of Antony's lieutenants expelled the invaders (40-38 B.C.).



COIN OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Antony joined Cleopatra in Syria, where he left her again to attack the Parthians; on his way back he was pursued by the Parthian cavalry and lost twenty thousand men.

Antony had already forbidden his wife Octavia, sister of Octavius, to join him in the East. He returned to Cleopatra in Alexandria, and assumed the costume of an eastern king, a purple robe and a diadem. He ordered a new coinage bearing the heads of Antony and Cleopatra.

He had two golden thrones prepared, one for himself and one for Cleopatra, and before the assembled multitude proclaimed Cleopatra queen of kings, and her two young sons kings of kings. He declared that he would give to one of them Armenia, Media, and the kingdom of the Parthians; to the other Syria, Cilicia, and Phœnicia. For the first time a Roman general was distributing Roman provinces among foreign princes.

Battle of Actium.—Antony's conduct gave rise to such scandal in Rome that even his own party deserted him. Octavius, in the senate, accused him of dishonoring the name of Roman. He obtained hold of Antony's will and read to the senate the passages reaffirming the gift of the

kingdoms to Cleopatra's sons, and gave orders that his body should not be brought back to Rome, but buried at Alexandria in the same tomb with the queen. There was a report that Cleopatra was already talking of the day when she should be mistress of the Capitol.

When Octavius had completed his preparations he declared war, against, not Antony, but Cleopatra, queen of Egypt (32 B.C.). This was a war of East against West. Antony had ready a fleet of five hundred ships and an army of one hundred thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry. He spent the winter in Greece with Cleopatra, meaning to move against Italy in the spring. To his surprise Octavius landed in Greece and began to attack him.

For some time the two armies remained facing each other, near the coast of Epirus. Antony's army being larger, his generals advised him to fight on land, but Cleopatra favored a naval battle, and Antony yielded to her wish.

The Egyptians had five hundred galleys, mainly quinqueremes (having five banks of rowers, although some had seven and eight); they were high and massive, heavy and awkward. There were not enough rowers for all, so Antony, it is said, had one hundred and forty of them burned. Octavius' ships were only two hundred in number and smaller, having but two or three banks of rowers, but they were much lighter and were manned by trained sailors.

The battle took place before the promontory of Actium on September 2, 31 B.C. Antony's fleet advanced from the strait to the open sea. Octavius' fleet attacked the clumsy Egyptian vessels one by one, surrounding them and hurling red-hot arrows and javelins at them. All at once sixty Egyptian ships were seen to make sail and depart southward. Cleopatra had fled from the scene of battle. Antony could no longer live without her and he followed her to Alexandria.

Antony's army, abandoned by its chief, decided to join Octavius, and the war was at an end.

Octavius followed Antony to Alexandria, but the latter, finding his army lost, killed himself. Cleopatra was captured in a tower where she had taken refuge. Octavius wanted to keep her to grace his triumph, but some days later she was found dead in her bed.

We are told that Cleopatra had tried to ensnare Octavius. She received him in a room adorned with busts of Cæsar, showed him letters written by Cæsar, and spoke to him of the glories of Cæsar. Octavius heard her without a look or word; when she had finished he said, "Woman, be of good courage." Learning that she was to be taken to Rome in a few days, Cleopatra cried, "No! I will never be led to Rome in triumph," and determined to commit suicide. She was closely watched to prevent her killing herself, but she had a basket of figs brought to her, in which was concealed an asp, a little poisonous snake, which killed her.

Octavius put Cleopatra's sons to death, and distributed her treasure among his soldiers.

End of Republican Government.—Octavius, who was now the only remaining general, became sole master of the empire. His powers as triumvir had expired, but he retained the authority without need of the title.

He returned to Rome (29 B.C.) and closed the temple of Janus in token of peace. He was received with enthusiasm, for every one was tired of civil war and rejoiced at the prospect of peace. The price of land doubled, and interest on money went down from twelve to four per cent.

The senate ordered the people to include the conqueror's name in their prayers, and to swear allegiance to him, at the same time giving him the right to have a crown and laurel branches before his house. He became "prince of the senate," an honorary title borne by the senator of highest dignity.

Octavius took the census, which had not been done since the year 70 B.C. He reduced the number of senators, and struck from the list of knights all those whose fortune was insufficient. The total number of citizens was four millions, against four hundred and fifty thousand in 70; but since that

time all the inhabitants of Gaul as far as the Alps had become citizens.

Octavius gave his power back to the senate when the work was done. The senate begged him to retain it, and gave him command of all the armies and the power of a proconsul over the provinces, with the title of *Imperator*. A new title was then invented for him, Augustus, or Venerable, and this became his name (27 B.C.).

The old governing bodies, magistrates, assembly, and senate, were not suppressed, but Augustus, the emperor and head of the army, had practically absolute authority. The republican government of senate and people gave place to imperial government.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EMPIRE.

Augustus.—Augustus governed for forty years more, and had time to organize the whole imperial system. His power equalled that of an absolute king, but he was always careful to avoid not only the title of king or even dictator, but also the bearing of a sovereign. Doubtless he feared that if, like Cæsar, he assailed the Roman customs he would meet with a similar fate.

He conducted himself always as a simple magistrate. At Rome he wore only the toga, although entitled to a general's mantle. He refused to be called "master" or "lord." In the senate he sat and voted like a senator. He was very ill in the year 23 B.C., and again offered to resign his power, but consented to retain it. He used to go in person to the assembly of the people and present his list of candidates, urging the people to vote for them. He attended the courts as an ordinary witness, and permitted the lawyers to speak ill of him.

He lived simply, lodging in his home on the Palatine hill, and wearing woollen garments woven by the women of his house, in accordance with ancient custom; at table he ate moderately of simple food. He attended dinners in the city without escort. His house was without formality, like that of a private citizen, and he gave audience to every citizen who had a request to make of him.

To a citizen who came trembling to present a petition Augustus said: "You act as if you were offering a piece of money to an elephant."

Augustus had no sons, but he was surrounded by a family which at first was sufficiently numerous: his sister Octavia, widow of Antony; his wife Livia, and Tiberius and Drusus, her two sons by a previous marriage; his daughter



AUGUSTUS.

Julia and his nephew Marcellus. He married his daughter to his nephew, and made Marcellus consul and his associate in the government. Marcellus was to have been his successor, but he died while still in his youth (23 B C.).

Agrippa, a life-long friend of Augustus, had assisted him in governing during his triumvirate, fitted out and commanded his fleet, supervised the new works for the adornment of the



THE GROWTH
of the
ROMAN DOMINION
from
THE GRACCHI to the Death of AUGUSTUS.
133 B. C. to 14 A. D.

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600

- Roman Power in 133 B. C.
- Acquired 133 B. C. - 14 A. D.
- Allies of Rome, 14 A. D.

city, and organized the administration. Augustus gave him his daughter in marriage and appointed him his successor. Agrippa died in the year 12, leaving two sons, and was buried in the tomb Augustus had had prepared for himself.

One of the stepsons, Drusus, who had already won fame through his victories, was killed at the age of thirty by a fall from his horse (9 B.C.). The other, Tiberius, became the leading member of the family, and was forced by Augustus to marry Julia, who had already been married twice and was notorious for her infamous conduct. The succession he wished to give to his two grandsons, Caius and Julius, the children of Agrippa and Julia; he adopted them and had them elected prospective consuls. Tiberius chafed at being sacrificed for these children, and refused to remain in Rome. When Augustus tried to persuade him to stay he threatened to starve himself, and went to Rhodes, where he spent seven years.

The two grandsons died (2 and 4 A.D.), and having only Tiberius left, Augustus adopted him and took him as his colleague.

Augustus was weak and ill and had no more love for hunting or for war. He had resigned the actual command of the armies, confiding them ordinarily to some member of his family, Agrippa, Tiberius, or Drusus.

In his seventy-seventh year Augustus fell ill while journeying through Campania. He sent for Tiberius and advised him concerning the conduct of the government; then he died (14 A.D.).

A moment before his death he asked for a mirror and arranged his hair. Then he called for his friends and said to them: "The piece is ended; have I played my part well?" adding in Greek: "If you are pleased, applaud."¹

His body was burned on the Campus Martius, and Livia placed his ashes in a monument. The senate declared that

¹ In the Greek comedies the actor, at the end of the piece, turned to the audience and said, "Applaud."

Augustus had been elevated to the rank of the gods, and temples and priests were dedicated to the "divine Augustus."

Organization of the Imperial Government.—The government organized by Augustus was destined to last almost three centuries. It is known as the Principate or the High Empire.

Under this system the absolute authority was vested in one man, the Emperor (*imperator*, he who has the *imperium* or command). The emperor bore the titles of Cæsar (the family name of the first emperor had become a title for all his successors) and Augustus (the Venerable). He was also called the *princeps*, or the first.

The emperor united in himself all the powers that had hitherto belonged to the magistrates and the people.

He had the proconsular power, the command of all the armies and all the frontier provinces, consequently the armed force of the empire.

He had the *tribunitian power*, the direction of the people in Rome; his person was sacred and inviolable, and an injury to him was treason to the Roman people.

He was pontifex maximus, director of all religious matters.

He had the power though not the formal office of the censor, and the supervision of manners and customs, having control of the list of senators, knights, and citizens, and giving to each his social rank.

He had the right to convoke the senate and the people, and also to regulate taxation and expenditure.

He had the right to pronounce judgment and to issue ordinances (*edicts*) and rescripts which had the force of law.

Augustus had avoided sudden changes, and had retained the old names. The state still called itself *respublica*, and the military standards continued to bear the initials S P Q R (*Senate and People of Rome—senatus populusque Romanus*). But he had centred in himself the powers heretofore shared among the magistrates, and instead of exercising them for a

year, he held them for life. He was the sole magistrate of the Republic, and his term was limited only by death.

He bore the old insignia of the magistrates, combined with the religious emblems: a purple robe embroidered with gold and a golden throne; lictors bearing fasces adorned with laurel; a cohort (battalion) of soldiers in his palace and a personal escort of guards. Prayers for his welfare were offered to the gods each year. All the citizens took the oath of allegiance to him.

He was surrounded by a sort of court; companions who were called the "friends of Augustus," a council which he consulted on matters of business, and a large staff of clerks, both slaves and freedmen, divided in three bureaux for correspondence, petitions, and accounts.

The senate remained the same, an assembly of the richest and most important men in the empire. Augustus had established a rule that a senator must possess at least one million sesterces (50,000 dollars). If a man had not the necessary amount, he gave him enough to complete the sum. He retained but six hundred senators. The emperor appointed them, and he continued the practice of choosing them from among former magistrates.

The senate met on certain fixed days, in a temple known as the Curia Julia. It was every senator's duty to take part in the sittings, all being obliged to offer wine and incense on the altar of Victory. The emperor sent messages to be read to the senate and consulted it on affairs of state, but he was not obliged to follow its advice. The senate remained the highest body in the state, but was no longer head of the government.

The comitia was not abolished, but it was no longer convoked to pass laws. Augustus continued to entrust it with the election of magistrates, but his successor transferred this function to the senate.

The old magistracies had not been abolished, and Augustus had established the order in which they should be exercised:

first quæstor, then ædile or tribune of the people, prætor, consul, and proconsul. But all these officers were subject to the superior authority of the emperor. They were elected, to be sure, but the emperor designated a number of candidates who must be elected, while for the other offices he recommended candidates, amounting in the end to the same thing. So in fact, then, the emperor chose all the magistrates.¹

The Apotheosis.—The emperor was master throughout his life. After his death his power was at an end and he became for the time one of the Roman people whose representative, the senate, had the right to examine into his acts. The senate might “condemn his memory,” in which case his acts were declared void, his orders cancelled, his statues destroyed, and his name effaced from the monuments. (Inscriptions have been found from which an emperor’s name had been effaced with blows of a mallet) But this rarely occurred.

Ordinarily the senate ratified his acts and decreed that the departed emperor should be numbered among the gods; temples were erected to him and a special priest appointed to worship him. There were accordingly flamens of the divine Augustus or the divine Claudius.

The custom was given a Greek name, *apotheosis* (deification).

The emperor had no right to delegate his power to another. His son, if he had one, did not become emperor by right. The successor was appointed by the senate, but it was usually the case that the choice fell on the man designated by the emperor before his death.

Administration of Rome.—The distinction was still preserved between Roman citizens and subjects of Rome. The

[¹ This outline of the imperial power must not be understood as applying in all its details to the system adopted by Augustus. Several of its features were of slower growth. But the description holds good for the first two centuries of the empire.]

city of Rome and Italy, whose inhabitants had become citizens, were administered directly by the magistrates and the senate. Augustus reduced this administration to a regular organization.

There was a law which forbade a general to lead his soldiers inside the city, but the emperor, the head of the army, kept near him his military escort, the prætorian cohorts (signifying general's battalions). The prætorians were chosen from among the veteran soldiers and received double pay, exclusive of gratuities (*donativum*). With these troops near him the emperor had nothing to fear from the people of Rome. The prætorians themselves were the ones to be feared (see page 299).



PRÆTORIANS (BAS-RELIEF IN LOUVRE).

Augustus also established troops in the city to do police duty (the urban cohorts), and troops to patrol the city at night and serve as firemen.

Augustus kept up the custom of giving grain to poor citizens. A special officer was appointed to take charge of

the municipal commissariat, and to draw up the lists and oversee the distribution. On certain feast-days the emperor had a special distribution of wine, oil, clothing, and even money (*congiarium*). Under Augustus each man received a total of one hundred and forty dollars in eight distributions.

There was an officer, the prefect of the city, whose duty it was to maintain order and administer justice in and about Rome.

Administration of the Provinces.—Augustus gave to the senate all those provinces that had no need of an army, and proconsuls continued to be sent to these “provinces of the senate.”

Augustus reserved to himself all provinces having an army and all frontier provinces; these were the “provinces of Augustus.” All appointments in these provinces were made by the emperor himself. He sent to each province a governor, known as the legate of Augustus, and charged him with the exercise of all his powers. This legate commanded the army, governed the inhabitants, and performed the duties of a circuit judge, authorized to pronounce even the death-sentence. A legionary legate was appointed by the emperor for each legion.

In each of his provinces the emperor had one or more officials to collect the taxes and return the money to his treasury. These were the procurators of Augustus. In small provinces having no army the procurator was at the same time governor.¹

The Imperial Army.—For the defence of his provinces the emperor had a standing army, made up of volunteers, ordinarily poor citizens who became soldiers to earn a living. They enlisted for twenty years, and often engaged for a second term. They received a wage, and, at the end of

[¹ The imperial legates (*pro prætore*) held office in their provinces for an indefinite period at the will of the emperor. The proconsular governors of senatorial provinces continued, as under the republic, to hold only annual appointments.]

their term of service, were discharged with a sum of money and an allotment of land.



COMMON SOLDIER.

There were twenty-five and later thirty of these legions of citizens, each composed of six thousand men, divided into cohorts or battalions. In addition there were auxiliaries organized in small bodies, cohorts of infantry, and squadrons (wings, *alæ*) of cavalry. The foreigners, meaning the

Roman subjects, preserved for the most part the costume, arms, and methods of warfare peculiar to their own country. Many of them became Roman citizens when discharged.

The common soldier rose to the rank of centurion, which was equal in power but not in dignity to that of captain. But all the high offices, like those in the government service, were reserved for the wealthy, knights or senators. It was necessary to be a senator to become a legate of Augustus or a legionary legate, and the rank of knight was essential to a procurator or commander of a cohort. There were thus three distinct careers, the senatorial, the equestrian, and that of the simple citizen.

Augustus created a *military* treasury to maintain this army. It was made up of the revenue from new taxes: a one per cent tax on sales, a five per cent tax on the emancipation of slaves, and a five per cent tax on inheritances exceeding a certain limit.

There were now four distinct treasuries: first, the original treasury of the senate in the temple of Saturn; second, the military treasury, maintained by the new taxes; third, the emperor's treasury, called the "*fisc*," maintained by the revenue of the provinces, imperial domains, taxes, and customs duties; fourth, the private fortune of the emperor. In practice, however, the emperor used all these funds to defray the public expenses.¹

Wars against the Barbarians.—Under the senate's rule almost all the Roman provinces had for neighbors barbaric tribes who were constantly in arms and ravaged their country, pillaging the houses and carrying off the inhabitants as slaves. Augustus devoted his lifetime to subduing these barbarians and organizing the frontier so as to assure peace to the inhabitants of the empire.

In northern Italy the Alpine mountaineers laid waste the country as far as the Po valley. Augustus had them pursued

[¹ For a time the emperors left the senate in control of their own treasury.]

to the mountains. The whole of one of these small tribes, the Salassi, was either slaughtered or sold. The Alpine regions were now all under Roman control, and Augustus organized three small provinces there. One may still see, on a height near Monaco, the monument erected to Augustus, with an inscription enumerating the petty peoples that he subjugated.

It was necessary to protect Italy on the north against the easy descent of the Alps. Augustus had the whole country occupied north of the Alps as far as the Danube, and made of it two provinces, Rhætia (Bavaria), which remained more or less of a desert, and Noricum (Austria), whose population quickly became Italian.

Augustus went into Spain to direct the war against the mountain peoples in the north, the Asturians and the Cantabrians. After several campaigns (25-19 B.C.) he conquered them and brought away a number of them, leaving three legions in the neighborhood of the mountains to hold the rest in check.

In the mountain region east of the Adriatic Sea which the ancients called Illyria lived a warlike people much like the Albanians (they spoke the same language as the modern Albanians). They were subject to Rome, and their warriors fought in the Roman armies. They now revolted and after three years of war (12-10 B.C.) were conquered by Tiberius.

Both sides of the Danube, from the mountains to its mouth, were inhabited by warlike peoples, the Dacians on the north and the Thracians on the south. One Thracian people had had a king who was friendly to Rome, and another Thracian people had made war on him and attacked Macedonia. The Romans occupied the plain between the Danube and the Balkan peninsula (Bulgaria) and made of it the province of Mœsia, which separated the Thracians from the Dacians (13-11 B.C.).

In the year 8 B.C. these wars were brought to an end and Augustus closed the temple of Janus for twelve years.

Wars against the Germans.—Cæsar had conquered Gaul, Augustus organized it. He spent some years there with his two stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus. He divided it into three provinces: Aquitania in the south, Lugdunensis in the central part, and Belgica in the north. Each had a governor, but Augustus gave them a common centre. On a hill commanding the Saone (the present site of Fourvière) a Roman colony, Lyons (*Lugdunum*), had just been founded, and the governor of Lugdunensis was established there. At the foot of the hill where the Saone flows into the Rhone an altar was erected and consecrated to Rome and Augustus. Every year envoys from the sixty Gallic tribes met there, assisted in the sacrificial ceremonies and formed themselves into an assembly under the presidency of the priest who had charge of the altar, a great Gallic personage; they had the right to address requests to the emperor.¹

Gaul was continually threatened by the Germans, a race of barbarians and warriors who inhabited, between the Rhine and the Elbe, a country of forests and swamps, without a city. The Sicambri, one of these peoples, seized Roman merchants and crucified them; they crossed the Rhine and began to pillage the property of the Gauls; they destroyed almost a whole legion which was sent against them, and captured the eagle which served as a standard (16 B.C.). Later they made alliance with two other tribes to cross the Rhine together on a pillaging expedition.

Drusus left Rome with a strong force to put an end to these invasions (12 B.C.). First he drove the barbarians back across the Rhine, then proceeded northward. He was assisted by the Batavians, the German peoples living on the coast, who became Roman allies. No taxes were asked of them, but they furnished soldiers, especially cavalry, who were well paid by the Roman government.

[¹ This assembly, with its right of addressing the emperor, more clearly foreshadows the modern representative system than any other institution of either republic or empire.]

Drusus forced his way into the midst of the German tribes and conquered them, transporting forty thousand Sicambri to the left bank of the Rhine. He penetrated as far as the Elbe. On his way back he fell from his horse and was killed (9 B.C.).

It was probably the wish to Augustus to keep all the country between the Rhine and the Elbe, and make of it the province of Germany.

In 6 A.D. Tiberius was sent into this region, where a great revolt of the Marcomanni had arisen. By another revolt in Illyria he was forced to patch up a peace in Germany and march southward, where a three years' campaign was necessary to subdue the disaffection (6-8 A.D.).

The rebels had served as auxiliaries in the Roman armies and knew how to fight. At length they gave up the struggle, and their leader, a Dalmatian named Bato, was surrounded in his fortress of mountains, surrendered, and was sent to Ravenna.

Tiberius asked him the cause of the rebellion. His answer was: "Why do the Romans send wolves instead of dogs to guard their flocks?"

There was great rejoicing at Rome at the news of the peace (9 A.D.).

Varus.—Some days later word came of a disaster in Germany. The governor, Varus, whose wife was a niece of the emperor, had lately been governor of Syria, where he had made a fortune for himself by pillaging the country. He knew nothing of barbaric peoples or their methods of warfare. The Germans were not yet accustomed to the Roman system of government, by which the governor toured the country to judge important cases. They were displeased with his court, where Latin was spoken and cases were conducted by foreign lawyers.

In each tribe there was one faction that favored Rome and one that was hostile to her. The hostile faction became the stronger, and a number of tribes decided to revolt. The

chief of the league was Arminius, a young prince of the Cherusci. He had served as an officer in the Roman army, and Augustus had made him a Roman citizen and even a knight. He was thought to be devoted to the Romans.

Varus had passed the summer in the valley of the Weser. In the autumn he was preparing to return to the Rhine when he learned that a neighboring district was in revolt. He went there with his army, numbering about twenty thousand men, and was attacked in the forests of Teutoburg. German warriors rushed on him from all sides, and slaughtered the slender and widely scattered garrisons, then proceeded to gather together their whole force to meet the Roman army.

Arminius, with some of his friends, had remained near Varus, the better to deceive him. One evening after dining in the governor's tent he disappeared, and went to take his place at the head of the rebels. The Roman army was encumbered with baggage and fatigued by marching in the rain through a trackless forest. For three days the Romans marched under ceaseless attack by the Germans. The cavalry deserted in an attempt to save themselves, but were slaughtered. Varus, wounded and despairing, killed himself, and several of his officers followed his example. At length the army surrendered with the eagles of the three legions. The Germans massacred the soldiers and crucified or buried alive the officers and the lawyers; the heads they cut off and nailed to trees. This was in the year 9 A.D.

The Germans were enraged against the lawyers in particular. They captured one, cut out his tongue and sewed up his mouth, saying to him, "Now hiss if you can, viper!"

Augustus was filled with consternation. There was a report that he was heard to cry when alone at night, "Varus, give me back my legions!" This was the only army that perished.

After the death of Augustus, Germanicus, son of Drusus, nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, made three expeditions

into Germany (14-16 A.D.). But Tiberius gave up the subjugation of Germany and abandoned the left bank of the Rhine. The legions numbered 17, 18, and 19, which the Germans had destroyed, were never restored.

Frontiers of the Empire.—The frontier of the Roman Empire was organized by Augustus. The old provinces had been conquered without definite limitation, and had no distinct boundaries. Augustus extended his conquests in order to gain a frontier that might more easily be defended.¹

The Roman Empire was now bounded on the west by the Ocean; on the north by the English Channel, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea; on the east by the deserts of the Euphrates and Arabia; on the south by the great African deserts. It included all the countries around the Mediterranean: Spain, France, Italy, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, European Turkey, the whole of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the north of Africa. It was the greatest empire that had ever been known. Augustus, on his death, advised his successor not to enlarge it.

Almost all the countries were organized in provinces with Roman governors. There were still, and especially on the coast of Asia Minor, a number of kings of ancient dynasties, but they were dependent on the emperor, and owed him obedience. These little kingdoms existed only by his will, and during the first century after Christ were all transformed into Roman provinces.

For the defence of this vast empire Augustus had twenty-five and later thirty legions of citizens, in addition to the auxiliary bodies. These soldiers were not scattered through the empire, but were stationed on the frontiers. In the provinces of the interior there was no Roman army, but each frontier province had its little army, and a fortified camp in which the army spent at least all the winter. The commander-in-chief in the province, who was at the same time

[¹ What modern governments would call a "scientific frontier."]

the governor, held his tribunal there. Around the camp gathered the families of the soldiers, merchants, tradesmen, tavern-keepers, and many old soldiers who, when their term of service was at an end, preferred to remain near their comrades. Each camp thus became a city.

In the west, the army, comprising three legions (one only since the second century), was established in the north of Spain to fight the Asturian mountaineers. The camp kept the name of the army, *Legio (Leon)*.

In Africa, on the southern frontier, a small army of one legion was stationed to keep in check the brigands of the desert.

In the east there was but one enemy to fear, the great kingdom of the Parthians. The garrison of three legions was in the province of Syria, with its camp at Antioch. No important war was made on Augustus in this direction. The Parthian kings were busy fighting among themselves and kept on terms of peace with Rome. One of them even asked for an alliance, and sent to Augustus the standards which the Parthians had taken from Crassus.

The danger lay on the northern border, behind which dwelt tribes of barbarians, poor and fond of fighting, and always ready to cross the Roman frontier for plunder; beyond the Rhine the Germans, beyond the Danube the Germans and Dacians. Here Rome stationed her strongest forces.

The army of the Rhine, comprising eight legions, was divided in two parts. The garrison of upper Germany had its camp at *Vetera Castra* and guarded the Rhine from its mouth to the mountains. The garrison of lower Germany had its camp at *Moguntiacum (Mainz)* and defended all the rest of the Rhine to Lake Constance.

The frontier was later carried far beyond the Rhine and marked by a straight line of entrenchments, more than three hundred miles long, extending from the Rhine to the Danube. The part towards the Rhine consisted of a ditch and a wall flanked by towers; at certain intervals, set back

about a quarter of a mile, were erected fortresses of stone. The part towards the Danube consisted merely of a mass of stone without ditch or towers. The country between this frontier and the Rhine was taken by colonists, and several small Roman cities were founded there.

The army of the Danube was divided among four provinces: Illyria and Dalmatia, in the mountains; Pannonia, in the plain of Hungary, which was defended by the main garrison and the fleet of war-vessels; and Mœsia (the modern Bulgaria), between the Balkans and the Danube. This army, though at first less numerous than that of the Rhine, became the more important before the end of the first century.

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Abbott	cc. xii, xvii-xxi.
Greenidge	cc. x, xi.
Inge, W. R.	<i>Society in Rome under the Cæsars.</i>

CHAPTER XIX.

LITERATURE, THE ARTS AND TRADE.

Great Writers of the Revolution.—The Romans were not naturally a literary people, but drew their inspiration from the Greeks. The early Romans had begun by translating or imitating the works of Greek writers. Plautus and Terence translated Greek comedies.

Then came authors who composed original writings. These were still pupils of Greece, as their ideas and forms showed, but there was more or less originality in their work.

The first were orators, whom we know only by reputation, as none of their work has been preserved. The only Roman orator whose speeches have been preserved is Cicero. He had studied Greek eloquence in Rhodes, and introduced into Latin the habits of Greek orators, choosing his words with great care and arranging them in long and well-constructed sentences. He delivered a large number of orations, chiefly in cases before the courts, which he subsequently reduced to writing. He composed also a number of philosophical treatises introducing to the Romans the doctrines of Greek philosophers. He thus created classical Latin prose. Cicero's style became the model which all followed who wished to write good Latin. At the same time (99–55 B.C.) Lucretius, the most original of Latin poets, expounded in his poem *De Natura Rerum* the doctrine of the Greek philosopher Epicurus. He wished to convince his fellow citizens of the absurdity of their religion in order to deliver

them from their fear of the gods and of hell. Being more concerned with ideas than forms of expression, he used many antiquated Latin words and even Greek words.

On the other hand, Catullus, who imitated the Greek poets of Alexandria, in his short pieces of verse (elegies, epigrams) endeavored to write in a correct, elegant, and brilliant style.

Varro, at once a scholar and writer, wrote several extensive treatises on agriculture, antiquities, and grammar. He also wrote the *Saturæ Menippeæ*, a medley of verse and prose, intended as a censure on the morals of his time.

It was the fashion in Rome at this time to write books on Roman history. The majority of these books are known to us only by reputation; the only historical works remaining are from the pen of Sallust, not his great Roman history but simply two short essays, *Jugurtha* and *Catiline*, whose chief merit lies in their style. Some of the great generals adopted the Greek custom of recording what they had seen and done. Sulla and Lucullus both wrote *Memoirs* in Greek, but they have been lost. Cæsar wrote in Latin his recollections (*Commentaries*) of the Gallic and civil wars. His Latin was very pure, like that of all old Roman families, his style a simple record of what he had seen. His book is composed in the purest Latin, and is the best Roman history in existence.

Reading became the fashion, and developed quite a considerable trade. Copyists, usually slaves, wrote on rolls of papyrus the works of Greek and Latin authors. These copies found a ready sale.

The Augustan Age.—During the half-century of government by Augustus there were a number of famous writers in Rome. Almost all were natives of the Italian cities, not of Rome. They were not men of high station, but middle-class citizens. The majority were poets.

Vergil, born at Mantua, came to Rome in his youth. He won recognition from Augustus, who restored to him his estates (this was at the time that the triumvirs had deprived

the citizens of Mantua of their lands to give them to the soldiers). Vergil composed rural poems, the *Bucolics*, in imitation of the Greeks; then by request of Augustus a poem on agriculture, the *Georgics*, and lastly his great epic poem, the *Æneid*.

Horace, son of a freedman, was also patronized by Augustus. He wrote *Odes* in imitation of the Greeks, also *Epistles* and *Satires*.

Propertius and Tibullus also followed Greek models; they composed short poems, chiefly elegies.

Ovid, to whom verse was a natural mode of expression, wrote long poems on mythology and festivals. He was for some time the favorite of Augustus, but died in exile in a semi-barbaric city near the mouth of the Danube.

The chief prose writer was Livy (Titus Livius, of Padua), who wrote a complete history of Rome from its foundation.

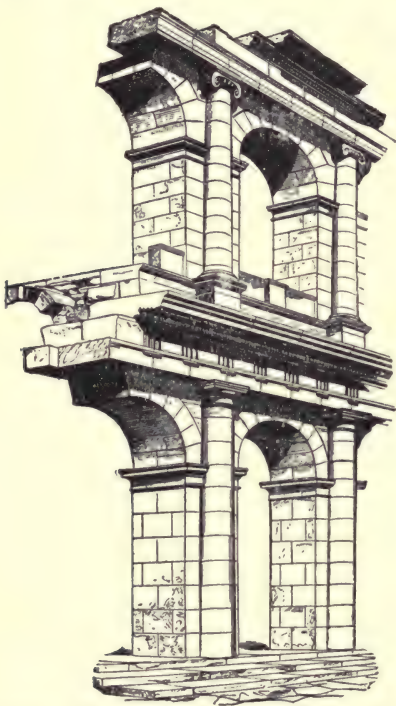
Augustus paid a great deal of attention to these writers, giving them advice and encouragement, and sometimes money. His life-long friend Mæcenas, who remained a knight all his life because he refused to accept an office, loved to gather authors about him. He received them in familiar fashion in his house, and talked with them. He treated Horace as a friend, although the son of a freedman. Horace recognized his kindness by mentioning him often in his poems, and thus made the name of Mæcenas immortal.

All these poets extolled Augustus as their benefactor. They made his name so famous that this period in literature has come to be known as the Augustan Age.

Architecture.—Rome could not emulate Greece in painting or sculpture. Her art lay in the more practical realm of architecture.

The Romans imitated the Greeks here as in the other arts. They adopted the Greek idea of columns and capitals, and began to build houses after the Greek model. They did, however, invent a system of construction for their buildings

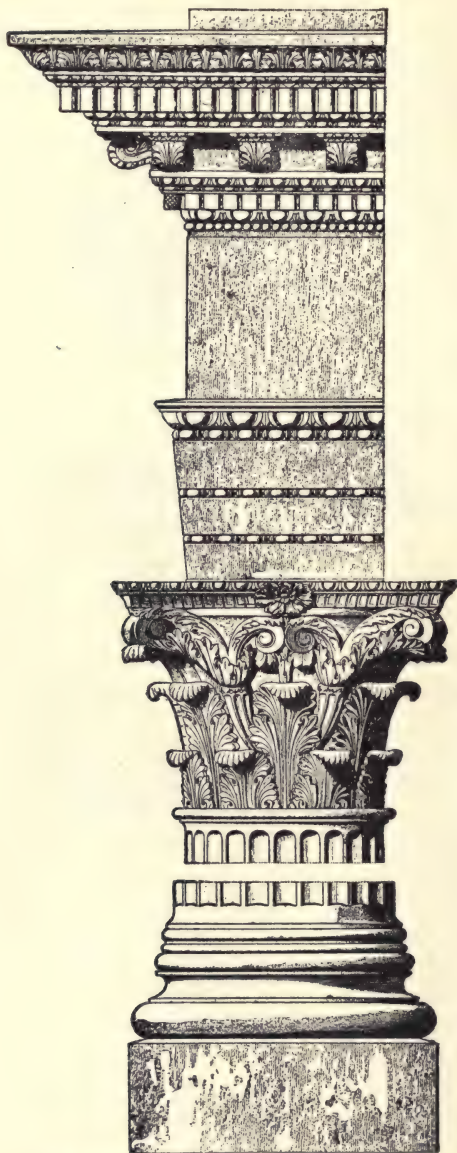
that the Greeks did not employ: this was the arch. This enabled them to build larger and higher edifices than those of the Greeks.



ARCHES FROM THEATRE OF MARCELLUS. (LÜBKE.)

Dressed stone was used only for the arches and the outside of their buildings. The inside walls were of rough material, undressed stone, pebbles, and bricks held together by a very solid mortar. These materials were to be found everywhere, and so the Romans were able to build monumental structures throughout the empire.

Before the time of Augustus Rome had almost no monuments but the Capitol, Pompey's theatre, and the

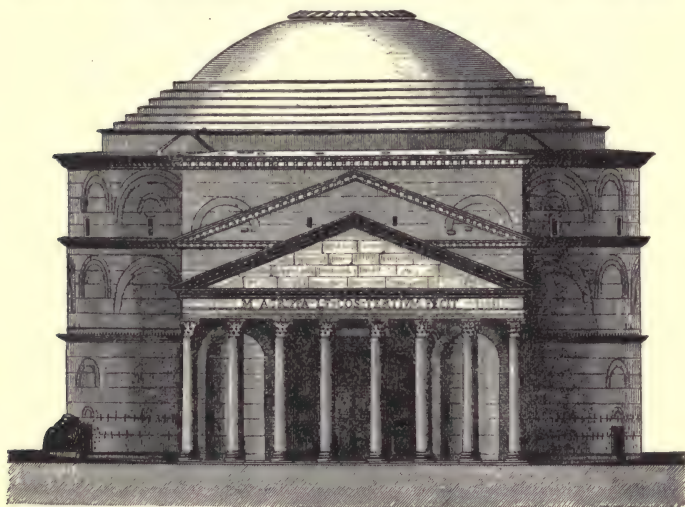


ROMAN COLUMN AND ENTABLATURE FROM ORANGE.

monuments erected by Cæsar around his square, the Julian Forum.

Augustus devoted much attention to beautifying the city. He repaired the old sanctuaries, which were falling in ruins; he boasted of having restored eighty-two of these and built sixteen new ones. The great theatre of Marcellus, the Augustan Forum, and the Julian basilica, where the merchants met, were constructed in his reign.

The most famous of these monuments is the Pantheon, built by Agrippa, partially rebuilt under Hadrian in the second century, and still in existence. This is an enormous round temple covered by a great dome (of one hundred and



THE PANTHEON. (HAUSER.)

forty-five feet span); in the centre of the dome is an opening forty feet in diameter which admits the light, but is so high that not a breath of wind can come in, allowing the rain to fall so straight that it has formed a circle on the pavement.

Augustus said of Rome: "I found a city of brick, I leave a city of marble."

Roads.—The Romans continued to construct roads not only in Italy but in the provinces. These were causeways built of stone and cement, and ordinarily in a straight line. The distances were indicated by milestones, counting from a column in the centre of the Forum. Stations were established along these roads, with horses and couriers to carry government messages.

Agrippa had a sort of map made of all the roads in the empire, indicating also the stations and the distances between them. This itinerary was carved in stone and set up in a public place; copies of it were made for the use of travellers. In a mineral spring in Italy silver goblets have been found on which was engraved the itinerary from Gades (Cadiz) to Rome, with the names of the stations and the distances between them.

Commerce.—These roads were constructed primarily for military purposes, and the stations established for the use of government messengers. They were also used, however, by merchants and travellers. Arrangements were made at the stations for relays of horses, and accommodation of sufficiently poor character, which, however, served as shelter for the night and often supplied some sort of refreshment. Communication was thus greatly facilitated.



COIN OF AUGUSTUS. "BECAUSE THE ROADS WERE MADE."

By keeping the tribes from fighting among themselves Rome had established peace in the empire, and peace rendered communication more assured. Thus encouraged and protected, a great system of commerce grew up between the different countries of the empire.

The greatest market of all was Rome, which had to supply

the wants of a population of one and a half to two millions. Further, her inhabitants were the wealthiest people in the empire and demanded many articles of luxury.

Merchandise was carried mainly by sea. The ships discharged their cargoes at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber; the cargo was then reloaded on lighters and borne up the river to the foot of the Aventine hill, where were situated the wharves and warehouses of Rome. Cargoes destined to



ROME IN THE TIME OF THE EMPIRE.

other parts of Italy were preferably discharged in the Bay of Naples, at Puteoli, and forwarded to the cities of Italy either by land or by coast and canal boats.

The Romans drew revenue from the provinces by taxes and banking. Roman commerce was mainly importation, for Rome and Italy bought more than they sold. The merchants collected in a single city in each country, usually a seaport, where vessels came to take goods to Italy. In

every large city in the empire Roman merchants directed this export trade.

The countries of the south, Sicily, Africa, and Egypt, yielded chiefly grain and dried fruits. These products were shipped from Panormus (now Palermo), Carthage, and Alexandria.

The semi-barbaric countries of the west furnished building lumber, skins, wool, and slaves. The centres of western commerce were: in Spain, Gades (Cadiz), which exported linens, wools from Bætica, and silver ore; in Gaul, Narbo Martius (now Narbonne); on the coast of Cisalpine Gaul, Genoa; on the Adriatic coast, Aquileia.

From the northern countries came English tin, women's hair, and later amber, which was gathered on the shores of the Baltic and brought across Germany to the Black Sea.

The great sea trade was with the Orient. Here were found the articles of luxury which the Romans could not now live without. The Indian and Arabian merchants imported the products of warm countries: the perfumes of Arabia, spices, drugs (aloes, opium), indigo, ivory, precious stones and pearls, fine cotton stuffs from India, and silks from China. These came by sea and by caravan to three great centres: to Alexandria by the Red Sea and the Nile; to Antioch by the Persian Gulf and the Syrian deserts; to Olbia, on the Black Sea, from the interior of Asia through the Caspian Sea.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy.....	cc. lxx.
Merivale.....	c. xli.
Botsford.....	c. ix, pp. 211-218.
Morey	c. xxiii from p. 225.
Myers.....	c. xv from p. 325.
Bury.....	<i>Student's Roman Empire</i> , c. ii.
Crutwell....	<i>History of Roman Literature.</i>
Teuffel.....	<i>History of Roman Literature.</i>
Simcox	<i>History of Latin Literature.</i>
Mackail.....	<i>Latin Literature.</i>

CHAPTER XX.

THE EMPERORS OF THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY.¹

Early Years of the Reign of Tiberius.—Tiberius, the adopted son of Augustus, was his successor. He was at this time fifty-six years old and a man of experience in public affairs. He had been governor of Gaul, had crossed the Rhine nine times and fought difficult campaigns in the forests, living among his soldiers and often sleeping on the ground. He maintained his simple habits. He ate little meat, but was extremely fond of cabbages and cucumbers. He lived in a plain house and devoted himself to his work.

Tiberius altered nothing in the system established by Augustus. On assuming power he convoked the senate to consider the method of carrying on the government, and even permitted one of the senators to propose a definite partition of power between the emperor and the senate. He granted the senate new rights and allowed it to judge all accusations against the nobles.

Like Augustus, he affected an air of deference towards the senate. He sent a quæstor to read his messages and consult the senators, coming sometimes in person to vote and even casting his vote with the minority.

One day a governor was accused of having plundered his province. Tiberius was indignant and wished to speak against him, when one of the senators said: "When will you speak?"

¹ Cæsar was the family name of the founder of the empire. Counting Cæsar and Augustus there were in all only six emperors of the family of Cæsar. It is customary, however, to call the first twelve emperors the twelve Cæsars.



TIBERIUS.

If you speak first, you dictate our opinion ; if you let us speak first, I shall be afraid of expressing a different opinion from yours." Tiberius gave up the idea of speaking.

Tiberius cared nothing for public honors, a rare characteristic in a Roman. He refused to have temples erected to him as to a god. The senate offered him the title of Father of the Country, but he refused it. He refused to be called "lord," and forbade mention of his "divine occupations." The senate wished to give his name to one of the months, as had been done in honor of Cæsar (July) and of Augustus (August), but he declined the honor. "What will you do," he asked, "when you have had thirteen emperors?"

He was a solemn man, who performed his imperial duties conscientiously but without pleasure; he scorned flattery and defied conspiracy.

He once said, speaking of the senators: "Oh these men, so eager for servitude!" He also said: "You know not what a monster the empire is." And again: "It is a wolf which I hold by the ears."

Many of the nobles chafed under subjection to a man of less noble birth than their own. But the senate dared not disobey him and Tiberius was sole master, like Augustus before him.

At the beginning of his reign the legions of the Danube and the Rhine mutinied. The Danubian soldiers demanded a wage of one denarius a day, and a reduction of four years from the twenty years' term of service. Tiberius sent his son Drusus to quell the revolt. A lucky eclipse of the moon terrified them and they calmed down.

The Rhine legions were also clamorous for the sum which Augustus had bequeathed to them in his will. Those of lower Germany massacred their centurions and wished to proclaim as emperor their general Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius. Germanicus protested and in the presence of his soldiers placed his sword to his breast, saying that he would prefer to die. There were cries of

“Strike, then!” and a soldier offered his sword with the words, “Take this, it is sharper.” Germanicus pretended to receive a letter from Tiberius promising the soldiers the desired increase in wages, and paid it out of his own pocket and those of his friends.

Tiberius later withdrew the concessions he made at the time of the mutiny. He maintained discipline and never again during his reign suffered a military revolt.

Germanicus commanded the army of the Rhine in Germany for three years (see page 276), and returned to celebrate his triumph in Rome. A triumphal arch was erected in his honor; he was received as a great general, and won the love of the people and his soldiers by his affability. Tiberius next sent him to the east to settle the affairs of Armenia, and he died there at the age of thirty-four (19 A.D.). His friends declared later that he had been poisoned.

A noble named Piso, a personal enemy of Germanicus, had put poison in the latter's food. This was proved by the fact that Germanicus died with froth on his lips and livid spots all over his body; also that after the body was burned the heart was found intact.¹ It was also said that on hearing the news of his death Tiberius and his wife Livia made no effort to conceal their joy.

Tiberius and the Provinces.—Tiberius paid much attention to his provinces. He endeavored to give them honest governors, and this was not easy, because he appointed only nobles, and the Roman nobles were accustomed to look upon a province simply as a rapid source of wealth at the expense of the inhabitants (see page 175). Tiberius supervised the governors, punishing all forms of pillaging, and forbidding increase of the taxes even for the benefit of the treasury. “A good shepherd,” he said, “shears his sheep; he does not skin them.” Now the nobles did not care to leave Rome to fill the office of conscientious administrators, so Tiberius found few candidates for the governorships. He

¹ It is hardly necessary to say that these statements prove nothing.

adopted the custom of leaving a governor for a long period in the same province.

Last Years of Tiberius.—Tiberius had a son, Drusus, whom he destined to succeed him. But Drusus was poisoned by his own wife. There was no one left now to succeed the emperor but his adopted grandsons, the three sons of Germanicus.

There had already been much trouble in the emperor's family, between his wife, Livia, and Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus. The Roman nobles, who were hostile to Tiberius, began to form a party in favor of Agrippina and her oldest son, Nero.

Tiberius became suspicious in his isolation, and instigated many prosecutions for high treason (*lèse majesté*). There was an old law, made at first for the tribunes of the people, and later applied to the emperor, which pronounced the penalty of death against any man who should injure the majesty of the Roman people by offending in word or deed its representative, the emperor. The senate, which was now the supreme court of the empire, undertook the prosecution of all such offenders. In the first years it endeavored to seek out all persons guilty of speaking ill of the emperor or his mother. Tiberius objected to this, saying, "In a free country speech and thought must be free." He now permitted the prosecution of traitors and possibly encouraged it. The senate began to prosecute and condemn, especially persons of high position. The goods of the condemned were forfeit to the state. Those who had denounced the victim received a portion of his goods, thus rendering the business of informer (*delator*) a lucrative one.

Cremutius Cordus, a historian, was accused of eulogizing Brutus in his *History of the Civil Wars*. He pleaded his case before the senate, then returned to his home and starved himself to death. In the succeeding years many nobles were denounced and a number of them condemned; ordinarily they received an order from the emperor to kill themselves,

and accordingly took their lives. Their goods were forfeit and their families left destitute. There were men who killed themselves without waiting to be accused, that they might be able to leave their property to their children.

Tiberius left Rome and took up his residence in the little island of Capreæ, near Naples. He left in Rome his right-hand man, Sejanus, a mere knight, whom he had made commander of the prætorian forces (prætorian prefect). The prætorians were quartered by bands in the suburbs, and Sejanus had barracks built near the city, where they could all be together. He went often to see them, appointed their officers, and sought to make them his friends. Sejanus detested the family of Germanicus, Agrippina because she had once slapped him, and Nero because he had upbraided him for "abusing an old man's weakness." He succeeded in persuading Tiberius that they wanted to kill him (a plot to make Nero emperor having been discovered), and the mother and son were banished far from Rome.

Sejanus had become the first man in the empire. He was to marry the granddaughter of the emperor, but this was not enough. He prepared to put an end to Tiberius and take his place. Tiberius was informed of this. He resolved to do away with Sejanus, and was wise enough to carry out his plan before Sejanus could rouse the prætorians.

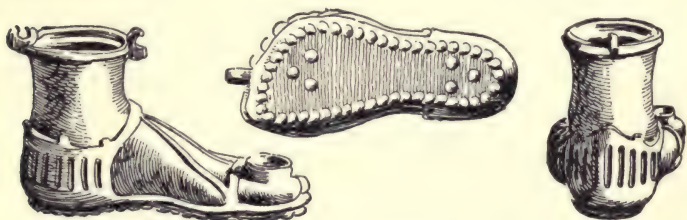
Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, was imprisoned and starved to death. His mother Agrippina died of voluntary starvation, and the senate thanked Tiberius for not having her body dragged to the Tiber.

Tiberius passed his last years at Capreæ, living in simplicity and occupying himself with affairs of state, while the senate continued its course of condemnation at Rome. He weakened at last, and died, leaving his provinces in good order and a full treasury (37 A.D.).

* **The Character of Tiberius.**—It has been the fashion to regard Tiberius as a monster of cruelty. But later criticism of his history inclines to a more lenient judgment. His

career is known chiefly from the pages of Tacitus, a strong partisan of the senate. It is probable that Tacitus has exaggerated all the faults of Tiberius. A man who has lived, like Tiberius, to the age of fifty-eight, an honorable and unselfish life does not suddenly become a mad despot. Circumstances made his position extremely difficult, and a natural severity may have strengthened with advancing years. Doubtless Sejanus was an unworthy favorite, but the verdict of the present time is that the reign of Tiberius was, on the whole, salutary and wise, as it certainly was efficient. The provinces, at any rate, were better governed than ever before, whatever the aristocratic clique in Rome may have suffered.

Gaius, or Caligula (37-41 A.D.).—The only one left of the sons of Germanicus was Gaius, the youngest, a man of twenty-five. When a child with his father in Germany the soldiers had nicknamed him Caligula (*little boot*), because he wore the Gallic *caliga* (boot), and the name had clung to him. The prætorians proclaimed him emperor.



ROMAN BOOTS (CALIGÆ).

He began by winning the hearts of his subjects. He celebrated his accession by distributing a gratuity: five hundred denarii (one hundred dollars) to each of the prætorians, one hundred and twenty-five to the soldiers of the urban cohorts, and eighty-five to the legionaries; also a gift of seventy-five denarii to each of the citizens. He treated the senate with respect, set prisoners free, and per-

mitted the circulation of books forbidden by Tiberius. There was great rejoicing in Rome. In three months one hundred and sixty thousand animals were sacrificed to the gods as a thank-offering for so good an emperor.

The rejoicing did not last long. The new emperor soon began to behave like a madman. He married his sister, and when she died ordered the people to worship her as a goddess. He declared himself a god and demanded worship; he ordered his image placed in all the temples; he went to the Capitol to converse with Jupiter; he took his seat in the forum between the statues of Castor and Pollux and made the people worship him. He built a temple in Rome and established priests there to offer up sacrifices to him. It is even said that he made a priest of his favorite horse, Incitatus, and wanted to make him consul.

He had the quæstors lashed and the senators tortured without cause. During a threatening attack of illness, human lives were consecrated to restore him to health; it amused him afterwards to make them keep their promise and kill themselves. He married successively three women whom he took away from their husbands; the first two he soon repudiated, and amused himself with saying to the third, "A mere sign from me, and off comes this pretty head." It was as if he was drunk with excess of power.

One of his reported speeches was: "I can do what I please with everybody." One day he suddenly burst out laughing at a banquet he was giving to the consuls. "I was laughing," he said, "at the thought that with a single word I could have you all strangled." He also said, "I wish that the Roman people had but one head, that I might strike it off with one blow."

He ate and drank excessively. He gave suppers which cost ten million sesterces (half a million dollars). He invited circus-drivers, gladiators, and mimics to his palace, which made a great scandal in Rome, for association with this class of people was considered a disgrace. He gave chariot-races and took part himself as a driver.

He very soon squandered the treasure amassed by Tiberius,

and began to raise money by condemning rich men to death and confiscating their property.

One of his victims left nothing that was worth confiscating. That man was a cheat," said the emperor; "he might just as well have lived."

He placed a tax on all articles sold in the Roman market, and began to impose it before it was proclaimed. Complaints being made, he had his decree posted but written so fine and placed so high that no one could read it.

At Lyons he sold the furnishing of the palace at auction; he directed the sale himself and forced his associates to buy at extortionate prices.

While he was in Gaul he carried an executioner with him everywhere. Every ten days he chose from the list of taxpayers some of the richest men and condemned them to death; this he called "balancing his accounts."

He longed to win glory as a general, and crossed the Rhine with an army to conquer the Germans. All at once he heard that the enemy was approaching—a false report, as it happened; he leaped from his chariot to a horse and fled to the bridge across the Rhine. He found the bridge blocked with his troops and, to make greater speed, had his soldiers pass him along from hand to hand. He did not yet give up hope of a triumph, however. While at dinner one day word was brought him



CALIGULA AND DRUSILLA.

of the enemy's approach; he immediately left the table and went out into the forest, returning with German prisoners. These were his own German guards whom he had captured

for the fun of taking prisoners. The following year he made an expedition against Britain and stopped at the shore of the Channel. For these successes he had himself proclaimed seven times *imperator* and celebrated his triumph, with Gauls of high rank as sham prisoners, their hair dyed red and wearing the German costume.

A large proportion of the people were anxious to be rid of this madman who disgraced even the Roman armies, and plots were made to kill him. Two of these plots failed. A prætorian officer named Chærea, whom Caligula had dishonored as a coward, had sworn to have revenge. One day the emperor was leaving a theatre near the Palatine, and, being in a hurry, left his German guards and went alone through an underground passage leading to the palace; here Chærea surprised him and killed him. His wife and daughter also were killed.

Claudius (41–54 A.D.).—The senate assembled and at first favored the restoration of the former government, without an emperor. Chærea came to the consuls for a watchword, as a sign that the power had returned to the old magistrates; they gave him the word “Liberty.”

The soldiers, however, wanted an emperor. When the prætorians had searched the palace they found a man who hid himself and besought their mercy; this was Claudius, brother of Germanicus, who was said to be half-witted. The prætorians said to him: “Be our emperor.” And as he trembled with fear so that he could not walk, they carried him to their camp and proclaimed him emperor. Claudius made them an address and promised a gratuity of fifteen thousand sesterces (750 dollars) each.

The consuls and the senate had for defence a troop of gladiators, the soldiers of the urban cohorts, and the watchmen, who were always jealous of the prætorians. Preparations were made for battle. But even the senatorial soldiers demanded an emperor, and the senators disputed as to whom the choice should fall on. The soldiers abandoned the

senate and joined the prætorians. The helpless senators were obliged to go to the prætorian camp and recognize the new emperor. The prætorians now held the power, and they controlled the empire.

Claudius was a man of fifty. Tiberius had regarded him



CLAUDIUS.

as incompetent, and he had never held any office but that of augur. He had lived in the palace and busied himself with Etruscan antiquities; he had also invented three new letters. When he became emperor, he desired to fulfil his duties conscientiously. He abolished Caligula's taxes, recalled the exiles, restored all property unjustly confiscated, and forbade trials for high treason. He administrated justice in

person and earnestly endeavored to be impartial. But unfortunately he had the appearance of a dotard, with nodding head and trembling hands; he stammered and made foolish jokes. He was considered ridiculous and respected by none. The people jeered at his edicts, in which he discussed everything from eclipses to methods of preserving wine and remedies against the sting of vipers.

He treated the senate with deference, and stood in the presence of a magistrate like a mere citizen. He was continually surrounded, even at table, by guards armed with lances, so fearful was he of assassination. He allowed no person to approach him without examination, and would not enter the senate without a guard of armed officers. This irritated the nobles against him.

He was passionately fond of eating, but even fonder of the theatre, where he would often remain when everybody else went away to dinner. The people loved this good-natured emperor, although they made fun of him.

Being himself incapable of carrying on the government, he left everything to his freedmen: Narcissus, his secretary; Polybius, his reader; Pallas, the manager of his estates; and Callista, who boasted of having saved the emperor's life.

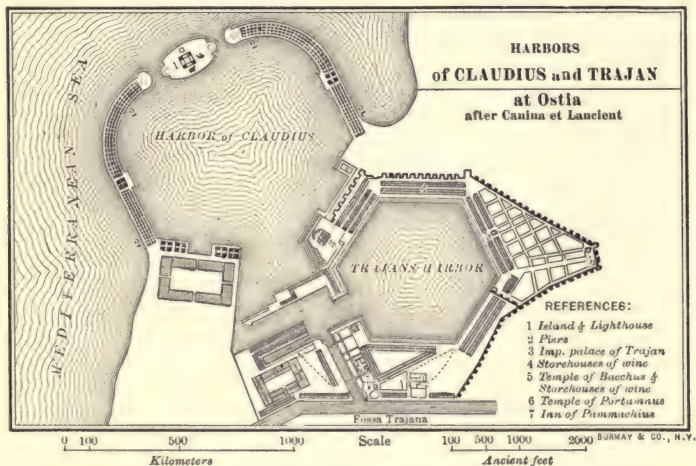
The Roman nobles were furious at having to obey men who had once been slaves, and at seeing Pallas amass an immense fortune, occupy a magnificent house and entertain his favorites royally, in short conduct himself like the descendant of a great Roman family. They looked with scorn upon this "reign of freedmen," as they called it.

These freedmen were either Greeks or Asiatics, of fair abilities and education, and their administration was not bad. The governors were supervised under Claudius as they had been under Tiberius. They usually employed freedmen like themselves, and left them for a long period at the same post; they studied the affairs of the country and directed them in the name of the governor.

The provinces increased in wealth and population under

regular government. At the end of the year 48 A.D. their citizens aggregated nearly seven millions.

In Italy a great harbor of seventy acres was constructed at Ostia, with two piers and a lighthouse. This enabled large vessels to land near Rome, and premiums were paid to those



who brought vessels to this harbor. An attempt was made to drain Lake Fucinus by digging across the mountain a tunnel three and a half miles long,¹ which was to conduct the waters of the lake to a river.

A number of new laws were passed under Claudius which began to lessen the severity of the old Roman law: the slave abandoned by his master for sickness was declared free; the mother was given the right to inherit property from her son, and the son the right to dispose of his own earnings.

Claudius allowed himself to be ruled by his wife as well as by his freedmen. His first empress was his third wife, Messalina (the first two having been repudiated for their evil conduct before his accession). She condemned to death all persons who displeased her, and at length she publicly

¹ This work was abandoned and not completed until 1874.

married a young noble. Claudius then decided to have her put to death.

His freedman Pallas gave him for his fourth wife his own niece Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. She was a proud and ambitious woman and insisted on sharing the honors and power. She received the senate and the foreign ambassadors, and, wearing a general's mantle, assisted in the military reviews. She had a colony founded under her name, Colonia Agrippina (Cologne). Such a woman had never been seen before in Rome.

Claudius had a son, Britannicus, who was to succeed him. Agrippina persuaded him to adopt Nero, her son by her first husband, and give him his daughter Octavia in marriage. Claudius also bestowed on him the proconsular power and in his name distributed a gratuity to the soldiers and a gift to the people. He finally appointed him his successor in place of Britannicus.

When Agrippina saw her son assured of the succession she poisoned her husband. Whether or not this is true, Claudius died in 54 A.D.

Nero (54–68 A.D.).—On the death of Claudius, Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus, the seventeen-year-old son of Agrippina, became emperor. He had learned to write verses, declaim, paint, and sing, accompanying himself on the lyre; he knew nothing of arms or affairs of state.

At first his mother governed with him, writing the government despatches, receiving the ambassadors, and reviewing the soldiers. The law forbade a woman to sit in the senate, so Agrippina had the senators come to the palace and, sitting behind a curtain, took part in their discussion. When her son went about the city she either shared his litter or made him walk beside hers.

Nero quickly wearied of this surveillance, and wanted to be rid of his wife Octavia besides. Agrippina upbraided him and, it is said, threatened to proclaim Britannicus emperor.

Nero had his brother poisoned and dismissed his mother from the palace.

Henceforth he governed alone, and for the first five years succeeded in pleasing his subjects. He followed the advice of Burrus, the prætorian prefect, and Seneca, his tutor. He treated the senate with respect and seemed anxious to be a good monarch. When two death-sentences were brought to him one day for his signature, he exclaimed, "Would that I could not write!"



COIN OF NERO.

Even at this time his amusements were of rather a singular nature for an emperor. He roamed the streets at night disguised as a slave, accompanied by a band of young men, beating the passers by and breaking open the shops. At the theatre he encouraged the people to shout, break the benches and fight, while he threw objects into the air and caught them.

Then he fell in love with Poppæa, the wife of one of his companions, a coquette who, to preserve her exquisite complexion, bathed in asses' milk and wore a mask in the sunlight. He first disposed of his mother Agrippina, then of his wife Octavia. He accused his mother of plotting against his life, and delivered her to his soldiers to be killed. The senate voted sacrifices to the gods for the salvation of the emperor's life, and on his return to Rome Nero was received with great ceremony as if returning from a victory.

But when he repudiated Octavia in order to marry Poppæa, the people invaded the palace and overturned the statues of Poppæa in their indignation. Nero revenged himself by accusing Octavia of a crime of which she was wholly innocent. She was nevertheless killed and her head brought to Poppæa.

Burrus having died in 62 A.D., Nero appointed one of his flatterers to be prefect in his place. Then began a series of prosecutions for high treason, and the government became as merciless as in the days of Tiberius.

Nero was vain of his powers as a singer, and began to show himself first in a theatre built in his own gardens and reserved for the nobles. It was not long, however, before he determined to display his talent before the whole people, and he sang in the public theatre of Rome in the dress of a singer. When he had finished he followed the rule of the profession and sank on one knee, extending his hand to the audience in supplication. There were among the audience groups of men who were paid to applaud. Furthermore there were spies among the audience and no one dared refrain from applauding. This fancy of Nero's made a great scandal in Rome, but it was impossible to say anything against it, and the senate offered sacrifices for the "divine voice" of the emperor.

In 64 A.D. the oil warehouses in Rome caught fire, and, fanned by the wind, the flames spread so that in a week's time ten of the fourteen districts of the city were burned. Nero was absent from Rome, and returned to find his palace in ashes. Without waiting for a guard he ran to give what aid he could, and took all the homeless people into his gardens. He was, however, so universally detested that he was accused of setting fire to the city to amuse himself.¹

There is a tale of Nero, clad in the costume of a singer, sitting lyre in hand on the top of the Palatine hill, singing the Destruction of Troy as he watched the city burn.

Rome was rebuilt in greater beauty, with wide, straight streets, houses of good stone, less lofty and farther apart, and arcades along the sides of the principal streets. Nero had a great park laid out, with trees, lawns, ponds, and a palace which was the most luxurious Rome had ever seen

[¹ See p. 367 for the cruel persecution of the Christians which grew out of this conflagration.]

and was called the "Golden House" on account of its extravagant decoration; there were halls whose ceilings were of ivory tablets made to turn and shower down a rain of perfume or flowers; there was also a room which revolved constantly.

Nero surrounded himself with a luxury unknown to the Romans. He had furniture of mother-of-pearl and ivory, garments of purple silk and wool which he wore but once; he travelled with a thousand chariots. He distributed presents, even estates, among actors, musicians, and gladiators.

His mules were shod with silver. Poppæa had her horses shod with gold, and was accompanied by a herd of five hundred asses to supply milk for her bath.

Money began to run short, and Nero reduced the weight of the coins. He robbed the Roman temples, also those of Asia and Greece, of gold and silver and even statuary. He made it a rule that every will should contain a bequest to the emperor.

A number of nobles at Rome conspired against Nero's life, intending to make Piso, a wealthy and popular senator, emperor in his place. One of the consuls, a prætorian prefect, and several officers were in the plot. A senator was appointed to stab Nero during the games at the circus. Unfortunately for him his elaborate preparations roused the suspicions of one of the freedmen, who denounced him to the emperor. Nero sent word to the conspirators to kill themselves, and they opened their veins. Seneca received the same order because he had not revealed the plot. A woman named Epicharis was put to the torture, but refused to reveal anything; her limbs were so bruised that she had to be brought on a litter to the second day's torture. During the process she managed to pass a cord around her neck and strangled herself (65 A.D.).

The succeeding years saw many innocent nobles put to death. Thræsea, who was the best known of these and the

most respected member of the senate, was condemned because he had been absent from the senate for three years and had not sacrificed to the gods for the emperor's health or for his "divine voice." Sentence was pronounced by the senate and brought to the victim by a quæstor. Thræsea dismissed his friends that they might not be compromised, prevented the suicide of his wife, and then opened the veins of his arm, and said to the quæstor, "Look, young man, for you live in an age when it is well to be fortified by examples of courage."

Nero was anxious to hear his voice admired by the Greeks, who were considered the most artistic people of the period. He accordingly went to Greece with a numerous escort of actors and musicians. He went from city to city, singing at every gathering, at Olympia, the Isthmus, and Delphi (the Greeks had changed the date of the games to coincide with his visit). Everywhere he received the prize. At Corinth a singer tried to contend with him, and Nero had him strangled. He came home enchanted with his trip. "The Greeks are the only people who know how to listen," he said, and as a reward he read before the crowd assembled for the Olympian games a decree declaring the Greek cities free. Returning to Italy, he travelled in a chariot drawn by white horses; every city through which he passed he entered by a breach in the wall, as the winner of the Olympian games had done in old times. He crossed the city of Rome in triumph, robed in purple, the Olympian crown on his head, and in front of him the eighteen hundred crowns he had won in Greece. These crowns he hung in the halls of his palace, and began to spare his voice; he no longer addressed the soldiers, held a napkin in front of his mouth, and had his singing-master follow him everywhere with warnings to spare himself.

Conquest of Britain.—After Cæsar's expedition the Britons remained independent in their island, but kept up their relations with the Gallic tribes whose language was the

same as their own. On both sides of the Channel Celtic was spoken and the druids were obeyed. The Celts of Britain excited the Celts of Gaul against Rome and received deserters from the Roman army.

The Roman government determined to conquer Britain. Four legions, numbering forty thousand men, were sent there during the reign of Claudius.

The Celts were brave, warlike, and good horsemen, but they were broken up in small tribes and were poorly organized. Their foot-soldiers were without helmets or cuirasses, their shields were too small, their javelins too short, and their spears too heavy.

The Romans landed without a battle and camped on the bank of the Thames to wait for Claudius. On the arrival of the emperor they crossed the river and routed the barbarians under Caractacus, king of Camulodunum. The other chiefs sued for peace, and Claudius returned to Rome with the surname Britannicus (conqueror of Britain) (44 A.D.).

The general remained four years in the country to organize the new province of Britain. A colony of Roman veterans founded a Roman city, Camulodunum, the seat of the governor. The Romans began to operate the tin-mines, Roman merchants came, and Roman cities were established. Of these the most important was Londinium (London), near the mouth of the Thames.

The Romans had with great difficulty subjugated the great plain which forms the south of England. The inhabitants of the western mountains (Wales) made a strong defence, aided by Caractacus, who had taken refuge there. The peoples of the west and north arranged to attack the Roman province, but the Romans defeated them one after another. Caractacus offered battle in a valley, but his ill-protected soldiers were slaughtered; he himself took refuge with the queen of a neighboring people and was by her delivered to the Romans.

On being brought to Rome he was astounded at the sight of

the structures of the great city. "How is it possible," he said, "that you, who have such magnificent palaces, should envy us our poor huts?"

The conquest was not completed. The Romans never occupied the mountain region of Wales, but confined themselves to establishing strongly fortified cities on their western border to keep back the mountaineers.¹ The peoples of Britain revolted again, and were only subdued after a long and severe war.

On the island of Mona (Anglesey) there was a sacred forest where the druids assembled to sacrifice human victims and decide matters of common interest. They excited the Britons against the invaders, and the Roman governor determined to destroy their sanctuary. His army accordingly crossed the strait which separated the island from the mainland. The druids pronounced imprecations upon them with their hands raised to heaven. Women dressed in black, with dishevelled hair and torches in their hands, ran about like the Furies, urging on the warriors. The Romans scattered the defenders, cut down the trees, and destroyed the altars.

The Britons were irritated against the veterans for taking possession of the houses and lands of the inhabitants of Camulodunum, and against the Roman merchants and bankers for trying to extract money from a poor country.

While the army was busy at Mona, they rose suddenly, massacred not only the soldiers but all the foreigners settled in the country (said to number seventy thousand), and destroyed the Roman cities. A legion which came to the assistance of Camulodunum was almost completely exterminated. The revolt was led by a woman, Queen Boadicea, who had been beaten by Roman officers, her two daughters insulted, and her inheritance confiscated.

¹ The names of several cities have preserved the memory of the fortified camp, *castra*; such are Cærlon (*Castra Legionis*) and Chester (*Castra*).

The governor returned from Mona with only ten thousand men, to find himself face to face with an immense army of Britons, accompanied by their wives. Boadicea, mounted on a chariot with her two daughters, passed before the ranks saying, "This is a time to win or die, and I will lead the way." The small Roman army succeeded in surrounding and slaughtering this horde of barbarians (supposed to be eighty thousand in number). Boadicea poisoned herself (61 A.D.).

The Romans, having subjugated the south, established a camp of two legions in the north, at Eboracum (York). Then when they had finished the war with the mountaineers in the west they attacked those in the north. Agricola, father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, made war on them for seven years (78-85 A.D.). He had provisions brought to this barren region by a special fleet, and gradually advanced with four legions to that part of Scotland where the two seas approach one another to form an isthmus. The mountaineers of Caledonia (north of Scotland) came down to attack them, but were driven back.

The emperors did not wish to occupy Scotland and Ireland. They preferred to keep their frontier farther south and defend it by a line of fortifications.

SOURCES.

- Eutropius..... Bk. VII, §§ 11-15.
 Paterculus.... Bk. II, §§ 123-131.
 Suetonius..... *Tiberius, Gaius (Caligula), Claudius, Nero.*
 Tacitus..... *Annals.*

PARALLEL READING.

- Duruy..... cc. lxxii-lxv.
 Merivale..... cc. xlii-lv.
 Botsford..... c. ix, p. 218-c. x, p. 231.
 Morey..... c. xxiv.
 Myers..... c. xvi to p. 347.
 Pelham..... Bk. VI, c. iv.
 Capes..... *Early Empire.*
 Bury.. ... *Student's Roman Empire*, cc. xii-xviii.
 Taylor..... *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*,
 c. xix.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FLAVIANS.

Revolts against Nero (68 A.D.).—Nero no longer concerned himself with the government. The people were still attached to him because he gave them shows and made them distributions. The soldiers, however, complained that they were receiving no pay, and were ashamed to have a singer for their commander.

Vindex, the governor of Lugdunese Gaul, set the example of revolt. He gathered an army of Gauls and announced his intention to deliver Rome from this "evil singer." He wrote to Galba, the governor of Spain, and offered him the command. Galba had only one legion, but he raised another and declared himself the supporter of the senate against Nero. The governor of Lusitania, who was Otho, the former husband of Poppæa, gave Galba his gold and silver plate to pay his legions. The governor of Africa joined the revolt.

The people of Lyons had called on the two legions of Germany to aid them against the Gauls. The armies met near Vesontium (Besançon). The Roman commander wished to discuss the situation with Vindex, but his soldiers threw themselves on the Gauls and killed twenty thousand of them. Vindex committed suicide. The legions had had enough of Nero, however, and they broke his images. The army of the Danube did the same.

Nero had taken no steps against Vindex. At the beginning of the trouble he was at Naples watching the wrestling-matches; later he was absorbed in trying musical instru-

ments. When he learned of the revolt in Spain he lost his head completely. The prætorians at Rome deserted him, and he fled to the house of one of his freedmen near Rome. When he saw his own cavalry pursuing him he killed himself.

He is said to have hesitated long before he committed the fatal act, weeping and exclaiming again and again, "What an artist will be lost to the world!"

The people would not believe that he was dead, and for a long time his reappearance was confidently expected. In Asia a slave impersonated the dead emperor and incited a revolt.

Nero was the last survivor of the family of Cæsar.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (68–69 A.D.).—The prætorians proclaimed Galba as Nero's successor. The senate took the oath of allegiance, and the other governors recognized him.

Galba came to Rome, a man of seventy-three years and afflicted with gout. His policy was economy and the restoration of discipline. He refused to give the prætorians the money promised them in his name by the prætorian prefect. "I enroll soldiers," he said, "I do not buy them." He made no public distributions and was considered hard and miserly. He took for his colleague and successor a young noble named Piso, a conscientious and haughty man. The prætorians disliked Piso and, moreover, the emperor promised them no gratuity on presenting him to them.

The prætorians were displeased and began to treat with Otho, formerly the favorite of Nero and the husband of Poppæa; he was the man who had just been giving money to Galba. He had won the hearts of his soldiers by treating them all as comrades. The prætorians brought him to their camp and proclaimed him emperor. Galba was assassinated after a reign of seven months. Otho restored the statues of Nero, but condemned no one (69 A.D.).

The soldiers on the frontiers were no longer willing to

accept any emperor that the prætorians might impose on them. The army of the Rhine, which was the largest and bravest, set up an emperor in its turn, proclaiming its own general, Vitellius, the governor of Lower Germany. The army then marched on Italy.

The army of Britain and the legion of Lyons declared themselves for Vitellius. This gave him eleven legions in all, and these legions were accompanied by an equal number of auxiliaries, mainly Germans. The most important and the best paid of these were the Batavians, who formed the chief corps of cavalry.

This semi-German Roman army swept across Gaul like an invasion of barbarians, leaving a trail of pillage and massacre.

It was against Galba that the soldiers had revolted, but, hearing on the road that the prætorians had put Otho in his place, they continued their march and entered Italy.

Otho, having no army in Italy, gathered together what he could find in Rome: the prætorians, the urban cohorts, detachments from the legions, the recruits who had just been enrolled, and two thousand professional gladiators. With these he departed on foot, wearing a suit of iron armor and living in great simplicity among his soldiers. He knew how to make his men like him, and he imposed no discipline on them.

Otho was advised to await the arrival of the army of the Danube, which was marching to his assistance, but he risked immediate battle and was utterly defeated.

Otho had remained in another camp with his guard. When news of the rout reached him he killed himself, having reigned only eighty-eight days.

The news of the defeat was brought by a soldier. Otho's friends would not believe it, and one of them said, "This is a coward who has fled from the battle." The soldier, without a word, fell on his sword. Otho was greatly moved and cried, "I will not expose the lives of such devoted defenders."

His soldiers urged him to continue the war. "One battle is

enough," he said, and proceeded to dismiss his friends, distribute his money, and burn his papers. He then asked for cold water and two daggers, and lay down to sleep. At dawn he awoke and plunged a knife into his heart.

The prætorians were disbanded. The soldiers of Vitellius ravaged the country and fought among themselves. At Pavia a legion massacred its own auxiliaries.

Vitellius finally reached Italy with an army of sixty thousand soldiers and a retinue of servants, comedians, and drivers. He was a fat man and devoted to the pleasures of the table. When he had eaten too much he caused himself to vomit in order that he might begin again. He paid no attention to government and could not even maintain order; he let his soldiers do what they please.

At Rome Vitellius made no opposition to the senate and even allowed it to make a number of reforms, but his gluttony disgusted everybody. He accepted invitations to several dinners on the same day, and spent enormous sums of money on his table; he invented a dish, "Minerva's shield," which was made of fishes' livers, peacocks' and pheasants' brains, eels' roe, and flamingoes' tongues.

Vespasian (69 A.D.).—There was an army in Judæa at this time fighting the Jews, who were in a state of rebellion (see page 317). They refused to accept the emperor created by the army of the Rhine, and proclaimed in his stead their general, Vespasian. The two armies in Syria and Egypt, who were in perpetual rivalry with the legions of Germany, recognized Vespasian as emperor. The army of the Danube also supported him and was the first to enter Italy.

The armies of Vitellius and Vespasian met near Cremona, and fought all night. The morning brought news that the Syrian legions were at hand to reinforce the troops of Vespasian, and the Vitellians decided to surrender. The two armies were reconciled and joined in sacking the city of Cremona, which they then burned, and sold its inhabitants.

Vitellius at Rome arranged a settlement with the brother

of Vespasian, the prefect of the city, and publicly announced his abdication. But the soldiers and people raised their voices in remonstrance and forced him back to his palace. A battle ensued at the Capitol, in which the brother of



VESPASIAN.

Vespasian was captured and killed, and the temple of the Capitol burned.

Then the army of the Danube arrived before Rome, forced its way into the Campus Martius, stormed the prætorian barracks, killing all its defenders, and entered Rome. They searched the houses for the soldiers of Vitellius and cut their throats. (Being Germans, they were easily recognized by their great stature.)

Vitellius was dragged from his hiding-place to the square with his hands tied behind him and a rope around his neck.

His garments were destroyed and his hair torn out by the mob; they threw mud at him, called him a drunkard, and made fun of his red face and his fat stomach. He was hacked to pieces with swords and his body thrown into the Tiber.

The Revolt of Civilis.—In 69 A.D. the Batavian chieftain and patriot organized a great revolt among his own people, which was joined by many of the German troops of the Roman army. He had been grossly abused by Nero and had sworn vengeance on Rome. At first he had pretended to be in favor of Vespasian as against Vitellius, but soon threw off the mask and tried to set up an independent state. This may be reckoned as the first of the long series of struggles by the peoples of the Netherlands against foreign domination—Roman, Spanish, and French. Nine legions from Italy, Spain, and Britain were required before peace could be secured.

The example of Civilis stirred up the Gauls, and Sabinus emulated his attempt to take advantage of the troubles at Rome, but he was subdued, captured, and executed at Rome. The representative assembly of Gaul (see page 318) had voted to remain faithful to Rome.

Destruction of Jerusalem.—The little kingdom of the Jews had become a Roman province, Judæa, governed by a procurator who occupied the king's palace. There was still, however, a Jewish nation.

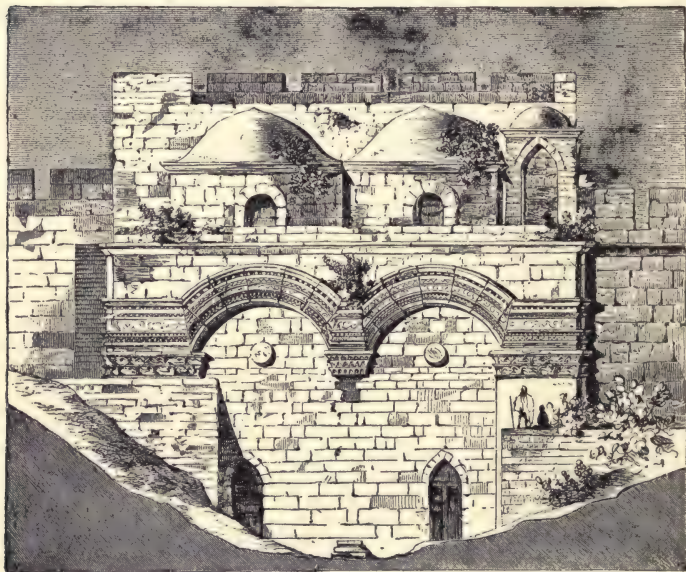
The Jews continued to regard themselves as the chosen people, the only worshippers of the true God, and destined to be rulers of the world. The emperors had allowed the Jews to retain their Council of Ancients,¹ which was made up of priests and doctors of the law; this was the real head of the people, deciding questions of public interest, administering justice and the affairs of the Temple.

The Temple of Jerusalem was the only spot on earth

¹ This was called the *Sanhedrim*, a corruption of the Greek word *Synedrion*.

where the Jewish rites could be celebrated. Crowds gathered there for the great feast of the Passover.

The Jewish nation did not consist only of the inhabitants of Judæa. There were Jews settled in almost all the large cities of the East; at Alexandria they occupied two wards. These scattered Jews spoke Greek, but did not lose their



GOLDEN GATEWAY OF THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

national distinction. They sent their annual contribution to the Temple, they endeavored to proselytize their neighbors, and in several cities they even had a council and a chief. They were exempt from military service. The Roman emperors dealt considerably with the Jews. The Jewish religion forbade the making of an image of man or beast; the Roman money used in Judæa did not bear the emperor's head, and the soldiers were forbidden to carry their standards into the city of Jerusalem. One of the

governors set up in the palace shields consecrated to a god, and Tiberius made him remove them. Romans were forbidden to enter the Temple.

Nevertheless there were a number of Jews who thought it sacrilege to obey a foreign unbeliever and to pay him taxes. When the Roman government ordered a new census to be taken in Judæa, Judas of Giskala, a Jewish patriot, declared it shameful to recognize any other master than the Lord of hosts. He rebelled, and was captured and executed.

Caligula, who thought himself a god, ordered a statue of himself to be placed in the Temple. The Jews declared that they would die rather than permit such sacrilege, and the emperor was dissuaded from the plan. The Jews were not quieted, however. A party known as the Zealots began to preach revolt. They armed themselves and assembled in the desert; after burning the homes of the inhabitants who were resigned to Roman rule, they withdrew into the mountains and began a sort of guerrilla warfare against the Roman soldiers. Some even came to Jerusalem to make away with all who supported the Romans; these guerrillas were called "the assassins." Miracles were reported and a great victory predicted.

In 66 A.D. the revolt became general. The wealthy Jews favored the Roman government because it maintained order. The rest, however, accused the Roman governor of enriching himself at their expense, and caused a riot in the streets of Jerusalem.

Foreigners had always been allowed to enter the outer court of the Temple to pray and to sacrifice to the God of the Jews. This was now forbidden by the new master of ceremonies; the partisans of the Romans complained, and there was fighting in the streets of Jerusalem for several days.

There were only a few Roman soldiers in Jerusalem. The Zealots entered the city and drove out the rich citizens, seized the Temple and the king's palace, and finally massacred the Roman soldiers and the leaders of the Roman party.

The governor of Syria came to Jerusalem with an army, captured one of the suburbs, but, in attempting to pass the wall of the city, was defeated with the loss of his baggage and engines of war. The Jews now had the mastery of all the ancient kingdom of Judæa.

Vespasian was sent by Nero with three legions and auxiliaries (fifty thousand men in all) to regain control of the province. He advanced with great deliberation, taking the fortresses one by one. The Jews had no army and did not try to check the Roman advance; they did, however, kill themselves rather than surrender their strongholds. Two campaigns were necessary to subdue the country around Jerusalem. When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor he returned with his army to Rome (69 A.D.). The war came to a standstill and the rebels were thus for more than three years masters of Jerusalem. During all this time they fought among themselves.

Vespasian at length dispatched his son Titus with sixty thousand men (70 A.D.). For five months the Romans besieged Jerusalem. The city was very strong, surrounded on three sides by precipices, and defended on the open side by three walls. Inside, the Temple and the king's palace had each a wall. The besieged were short of supplies, having destroyed their provisions in the riots, and the city was full of Jews who had come to the Passover. It was therefore not long before famine set in. Many died of hunger; others, in attempting to save themselves, were taken by the Romans and crucified (five hundred in a single day, it is said).

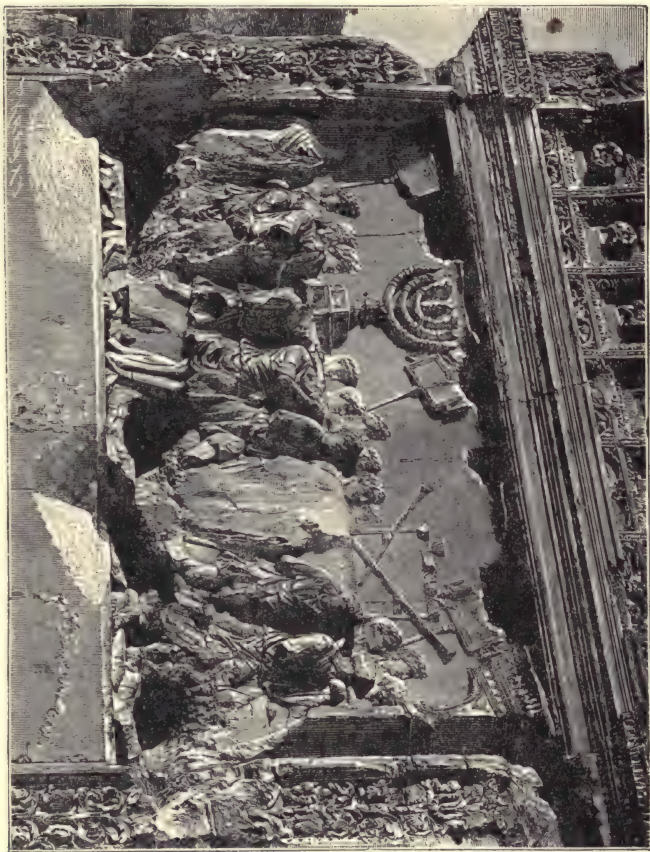
Titus was determined to force his way into the city. It took him six weeks to make an opening in the wall, and even then he had to take the lower city house by house. He stormed the palace, then the Temple, and finally the upper city. The Temple was burned. The city of Jerusalem was destroyed.

Josephus, the Jewish historian, says that Titus had de-

cided to spare the Temple, and that it was set on fire by a burning brand hurled by a soldier.

All the inhabitants were either massacred or sold into

TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM ARCH OF TITUS, SHOWING GOLDEN CANDLESTICK OF THE JEWS.



slavery. Titus reserved seven hundred prisoners to appear in his triumph, together with the sacred objects from the Temple: the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, the veil of the Temple, and the Book of the Law.

Jerusalem remained in ruins. A legion was encamped there and colonies established in the neighboring country. The Jews' contribution to the Temple was kept up, but given to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

In spite of all this, deprived of their capital, their chiefs, and their Temple, the Jews remained still a nation. They preserved their religion and continued to regard themselves as the chosen people of God. They assembled in the synagogues to read their holy books, while the rabbis prepared a new collection of the sacred rules of their religion.

The Flavian Emperors.—With Vespasian began a new imperial dynasty, the Flavians, of whom there were three. Flavius Vespasianus was descended from an Italian family of petty landowners. His grandfather had been centurion, his father collector of customs. He had followed the career of an officer, and was now sixty years of age.

He made no attempt to deny his origin. On the contrary, he frequently ridiculed those courtiers who traced his descent from the god Hercules, and kept intact the peasant house of his forefathers, in which he had spent his childhood.

He lived in great simplicity, worked late at night, left his door always open to any that might come to speak with him, and lent a ready ear to advice. He refused to permit the prosecution of persons who spoke ill of him, and left the sons of Vitellius in full possession of their property.

He restored order, reprimanding rebels and restoring discipline in the army. He paid great attention to the provinces, and founded colonies of citizens.

The greater number of the old Roman families had died out and there was a scarcity of senators. Vespasian took the census and added many new names to the list of senators. In this way he made of the great provincial families (chiefly of Spain and Gaul) a new nobility, which proved to be more honest and less ambitious than the old one.

A great deal of money was needed to restore Rome to good condition, to rebuild the Capitol, reconstruct the

aqueducts, and build the Colosseum (see page 345), not to mention the armies and the roads. Vespasian was very economical, so much so that his enemies held him up to ridicule as a miser.

In ten years he had set the empire once more on its feet financially. He worked to the day of his death. "An



THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE OR COLOSSEUM.

emperor," he said, "must die standing." He died in the act of rising from his chair (79 A.D.).

Titus (79-81 A.D.).—His son Titus, who had borne the title of Cæsar, succeeded him. Titus had sworn to keep his hands free from blood; he refused to permit prosecution for high treason, and pardoned two nobles who were condemned for conspiring against him. He adopted a deferential attitude towards the senate, gave the people magnificent games, and announced that the choice of shows at the theatre belonged not to the emperor, but to the people. He made himself beloved by all his subjects. His friends nicknamed him "the delight of the human race."

Having let one day pass without giving anything to any one, he said regretfully in the evening, "My friends, I have lost a day."

He died after a brief reign of two years and two months.¹

Domitian (81–96 A.D.).—Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian. He was tall, handsome, and vigorous,



ARCH OF TITUS.

and exceedingly temperate in his habits, eating but one meal a day. He attended to his duties with unflinching

¹ During his reign Vesuvius, which had been quiet for at least two thousand years, broke into violent eruption. The cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were buried in lava (79 A.D.)

regularity. He reviewed all sentences passed by the courts, and condemned to exile all persons convicted of perjury. He also supervised the governors of the provinces.

He followed the counsels of his father, and the regular administration of the empire was continued.

His great fault was his vanity. He exacted the title of Lord and even God. He had himself elected consul seventeen times. He was displeased with any eulogy of his brother or any other great man. He celebrated three triumphs and attended the sittings of the senate in triumphal robes. He had the month of October called by his name.

He had no love for bodily exercise or active warfare, and was always carried in a litter, even during a campaign. He nevertheless conducted a number of wars against barbarian encroachment in Britain (see page 309), on the Rhine, and on the Danube. In the latter war he was defeated, and secured peace only by promising a yearly present to the king of the Dacians; his enemies called this buying peace by the payment of tribute.

Domitian was always cold and egotistical. He lived without friends alone in his palace, amusing himself, it is said, by killing flies with a bodkin. His guests received an ungracious reception.

There is a story that he amused himself by frightening his guests one day. He received them in a hall draped with black, lighted with funeral lamps, and furnished with couches such as the dead were laid on, each with a funeral inscription bearing the name of a guest. At each man's feet sat a slave representing the genius of the dead as he appeared on tombs. The supper consisted of dishes served at funeral repasts.

When the dinner was over, unfamiliar slaves accompanied each guest to his home, there to be met with an announcement that a messenger had come from the emperor. Feeling sure that he would find a sentence of death, he was surprised to see the beautiful slave who had played the part of the genius of death, whom the emperor had sent as a gift, together with the funeral paraphernalia which had figured at the banquet.

In the last years of his reign Domitian's natural cruelty was intensified by his constant fears. There was mutual

hatred between him and the senators, a number of whom attempted to kill him. Condemnations for high treason began again. One senator was condemned for celebrating the anniversary of the birth of his uncle, the emperor Otho; another for having a map of the world in his room; another because the public crier had by mistake proclaimed him emperor. Lucullus, the general of the army in Britain, was executed for having permitted a new style of spear to be called by his name; a rhetorician, for having made a speech against tyrants. Domitian encouraged denunciation, even from slaves. No one dared speak, even in his own house, for fear that some word might be picked up by a slave and interpreted as an allusion to the emperor.

Domitian needed money for his soldiers, having increased the wages of the legionaries from two hundred and twenty-five to three hundred denarii a year (from forty-five to sixty dollars). He therefore condemned rich men in order to get their property, and exacted a share of each inheritance.

He became an object of loathing to his subjects, who nicknamed him "the bald-headed Nero." The Chaldæan soothsayers having predicted the near approach of his death, he exiled them all and had a number executed. The philosophers censured his conduct, and suffered execution and exile for their rashness.

Domitian rarely appeared in public. He had the porticoes through which he passed faced with polished stone to serve as mirrors, that he might observe what went on behind him. When he went on the water he sat alone in one boat and was towed by another, to keep the rowers at a safe distance from him. When a suspected person was brought before him he had him chained, and held the end of the chain in his hand.

In spite of all this precaution he was assassinated. His wife's steward came to him to tell him of a pretended conspiracy, handed him a note, and struck him as he read it.

His servants hastened to the spot and killed the assassin (96 A.D.).

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE ANTONINES.

96-180 A.D.

Nerva (96-98 A.D.).—The murderers of Domitian had already chosen his successor, an old and decrepit senator named Nerva. The senate elected him emperor and revenged itself on Domitian by decreeing that his memory should be abolished. Not only was the late emperor not declared a god, but orders were given to tear down his statues and to strike out his name from all inscriptions. Nerva recalled the exiles, forbade prosecution for high treason, and restored the powers of the senate.

The prætorians, who were on bad terms with the senate, came in arms to the palace to demand the punishment of the slayers of Domitian, and massacred them. Nerva had not the strength to resist the prætorians, and chose as his colleague a general by the name of Trajan. Soon after this Nerva died.

Trajan and his Conquests (98-117 A.D.).—His successor, Trajan, was the first emperor who was not a native of Italy. He was born in Italica, a Roman colony in Spain (near Seville), and had already made his reputation as a general.

He treated the senate with deference, consulted it on affairs of state, and allowed it to decide cases against the governors. He forbade denunciation of a master to be received from his slave, condemnation of an absent citizen, or prosecution for *lèse majesté*. He conducted himself not

as a master, but as a magistrate. He sat with the other senators, and, on accepting the consulate, stood while the other consul sat and administered his oath. He allowed eulogies to be written on citizens condemned by the emperors, and images of Brutus and Cassius to be set up. It was at this time the fashion to extol the partisans of the old republic, to speak with scorn of the wicked emperors, and to say that Rome was once more free. In spite of all this the emperor remained the real head of the state.

Trajan was before all a general, and was absorbed in conquest.

A new barbarian kingdom had been established on the left bank of the Danube, between the river and the Carpathian Mountains (the modern Transylvania). Decebalus,¹ king of the Dacians, had organized an army on the Roman model, employing Roman engineers and soldiers, and had invaded the Roman province of Mœsia. Domitian had paid him a sum of money annually.

Trajan made up his mind to destroy this dangerous neighbor. He spent the winter with the army of the Danube preparing for war (101 A.D.), and constructing a road along the right bank of the river. In the spring he crossed the Danube into the mountains and took the Dacian fortresses one by one, returning with the Romans who had been captured and the standards which the barbarians had taken from the Roman soldiers. Decebalus sued for peace, promising to surrender his engines, workmen, and Roman deserters (102 A.D.). Trajan left a Roman garrison in the capital city, Sarmizegethusa, and built across the Danube a stone bridge with seventeen piers, to permit the Romans to enter the country at will.

The king of the Dacians did not fulfil his promise; he surrendered neither his arms nor the Roman deserters. Trajan accordingly returned and declared war on him,

[¹ Decebalus was a royal title, like Pharaoh or Kaiser.]

invaded his country and entered his capital. He refused to make peace, and insisted on the surrender of Decebalus. The Dacian king, in despair, killed himself (106 A.D.).



THE DECEBALUS SUBMITTING.
(From Trajan's Column.)

Trajan kept the country and made of it the new province of Dacia. He built strongholds for its defence, drove out the Dacian warriors, and established several Roman colonies. These colonies operated the mines in the mountains, cultivated the land, and built cities. Dacia became a Roman country, and Latin her chief language; this was the foundation of the Roumanian people, which to-day speaks a tongue derived from the Latin.

The strongest army of the first century was that of the Rhine. Trajan transferred this honor to the army of the Danube, to which he gave ten legions shared among five governors.

The country south of the Danube, being no longer exposed to barbarian ravages, increased in population and wealth.

In memory of his conquest Trajan had the Column of

Trajan erected in Rome, with bas-reliefs in marble representing scenes of the war.

Rome had now but one enemy left, the king of the Parthians. For a whole century she had made war on him at various times, usually to determine who should choose the king of Armenia. Trajan organized his army at Antioch,



BURNING A TOWN.
(*from Trajan's Column.*)

then sent for the king of Armenia, ordered him to lay down his crown, and delivered him to the soldiers to be killed. He then declared Armenia a Roman province, and advanced into the kingdom of the Parthians. He had his boats dismantled and carried across to the Euphrates on wagons. Entering Babylon, he sacrificed to the spirit of Alexander, then carried his boats overland from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and took the great Parthian cities, Seleucia and Ctesiphon. In the latter city he took possession of the king's golden throne and sailed with it down to the ocean. It was presumably his intention to advance as far as Alexander, but the Parthian cities rose against him, his health failed, and he died on the march, in 117 A.D. He

had made of the conquered territory three new provinces: Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

Hadrian (117-138 A.D.).—Trajan had not had time formally to designate his successor, but he had already chosen a member of his own family. This was Hadrian, a tall, handsome man, possessing a good mind and a sweet nature. Trajan had adopted him and married him to his grandniece.

When Hadrian was proclaimed emperor he swore never to put a senator to death, and to allow the senate to retain the powers granted by Trajan. When in Rome he took part in the sittings of the senate and consulted it on affairs of state. When the senate made him a visit he received the members standing.

Seeing one of his slaves walking one day between two senators, Hadrian sent some one to strike the imperial slave, that he might remember his inferior rank.

He attended conscientiously to business, administering justice and hearing all complaints in person. He supervised the provincial governors, and even condemned some of them to death.

"I wish to govern the republic," he said, "not as my property, but as that of the people." A woman stopped him in the street one day with a plea for justice. Hadrian told her that he had not time to hear her. "Then why are you emperor?" was the woman's answer. And Hadrian listened to her complaint.

He lived like a private citizen, without luxury, eating simple meals, hunting with his friends, and visiting them when they were ill. He had no guards to escort him in Rome, and returned from the senate in a litter that he might not attract attention. He was not a seeker after honors. He never took the title of consul, refused for a long time that of Father of his Country, and was only once proclaimed *imperator* by the soldiers.

Hadrian had spent the greater part of his life in Greek countries; he spoke Greek and had learned from the Greeks painting and sculpture, the art of writing poetry, also

geometry, music, medicine, and astrology. His enemies called him "the little Greek."

His first act was to abandon Trajan's eastern conquests, the provinces about the Euphrates, feeling, like Augustus, that the empire was large enough already. He avoided war, preferring to maintain peace with the barbarians by making presents to their chiefs. His plan was successful, and during his entire reign the frontier was never attacked.

Although so careful to avoid war, he took equal pains to have good armies. He visited all the frontier garrisons, and made his soldiers preserve the customs of the old Roman armies. He did away with the officers' country-seats, banquet-halls, grottoes, and canopies. He drove out the actors and jugglers.

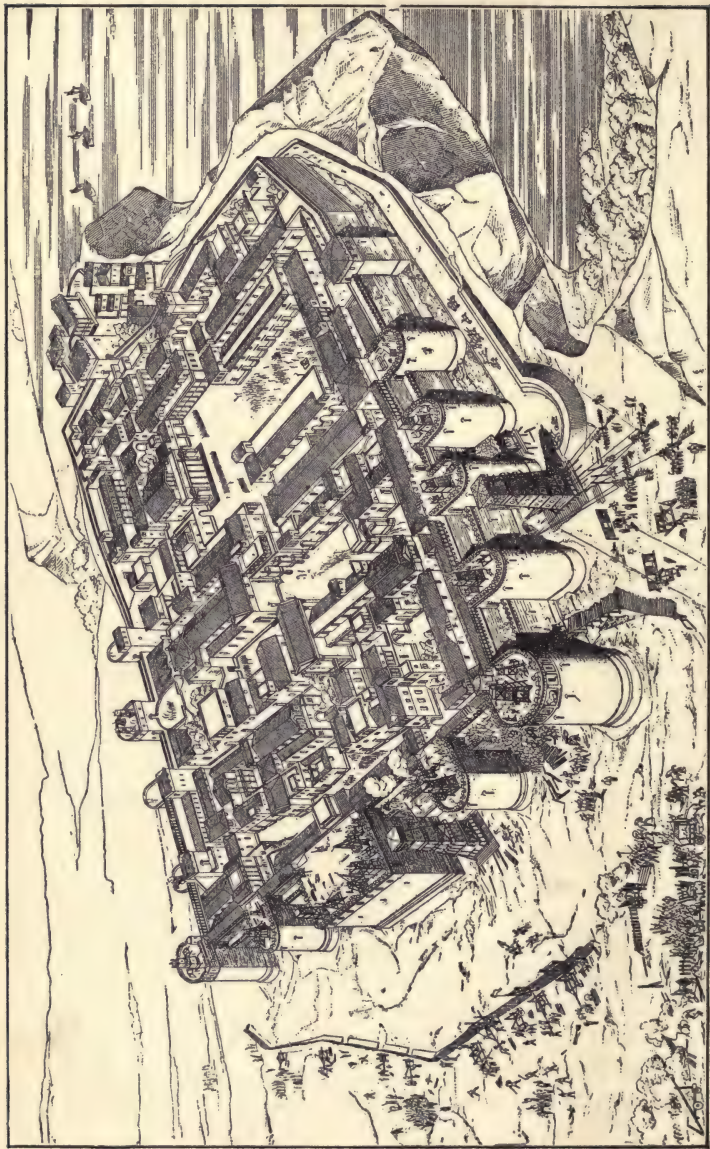
He refused furloughs to the soldiers in order that the corps might be always complete. He ordered at least three military marches to be made each month. He established a set of rules for the camp and for the baggage, and had new engines of war made that were lighter and more easily manœuvred.

When in camp he lived like a common soldier, eating bacon and cheese and drinking thin wine. He practised throwing the javelin, and led the military marches of eighteen or nineteen miles on foot, bareheaded and fully armed; he would not allow either a litter or a carriage to be brought for him. He busied himself among his soldiers, visiting the sick and giving promotions for bravery or long service, which he ranked above wealth and youth. His men were devoted to him, and throughout his reign of twenty-one years there was never an outbreak among the soldiers.

Hadrian's Journeys.—Hadrian cared little for Rome, and spent his time travelling about his empire.

He was proclaimed emperor in Syria, and passed through the Danube provinces on his way back to Rome. He spent a year in these provinces organizing the government.

He visited the south of Italy, then Rhætia and Noricum



FORTRESS OF TROESMIS ON THE DANUBE (Restoration by M. Ambr. Baudry.)

in the north, proceeding to Gaul and Britain. The barbarians of the Scotch mountains were ravaging the region just beyond the frontier. Hadrian's Wall was built to keep them back. This wall was more than sixty miles long and extended across Britain from Solway Frith to the Tyne. In front of it was a ditch forty feet wide and fifteen feet deep. Behind it rose a wall of masonry seven feet thick and fifteen or more feet high, guarded in front by three hundred towers which jutted out over the wall, and behind by eighty guard-posts. Along the full length of the wall was constructed a military road sixty-five feet wide, defended by seventeen forts averaging four miles apart, each placed within reach of water. Finally, a second ditch between two lines of earth-works protected the wall on the south. This tremendous work was accomplished by three legions and their auxiliaries, each cohort making a section of the wall.

Hadrian visited Spain and was present at the assembly of deputies from the Spanish cities, which met at Tarragona to celebrate the anniversaries of the founding of Rome and the birth of Augustus.

Passing on to Africa, he visited the Roman camps on the borders of the desert. At Lambesis an inscription has been found which reproduces an order of the day from Hadrian to his soldiers, congratulating them on the manner in which they did their work, carried their loads, and executed manœuvres. Hadrian extended the road and the forts into the mountains on the edge of the desert.

He passed through all the African provinces and entered Syria. Here he had an interview with the king of the Parthians; he promised to restore the king's daughter, who had been captured by the Romans, but refused to give back the golden throne that Trajan had carried off.

He next went through the provinces bordering on the Black Sea. He visited the mountain from which the Ten Thousand had had their first view of the sea, and a statue of him was erected there, with a hand pointing towards the

sea. He had a temple and a harbor constructed at Trebizond. He hunted wild beasts in the Bithynian Mountains, and killed an enormous bear. The city of Hadrianotheræ (Hadrian's hunts) was founded in memory of this.

Proceeding into Europe, he visited Thrace,¹ Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece, and returned to Rome by water, stopping at Sicily to see the sunrise from the top of Mount Ætna.

Later he made a second trip to the East. This time he made a longer stay in the Greek countries, where he was happiest. In every city he left traces of his passage: in Corinth the baths and an aqueduct, in Mantinea a temple to Neptune, and in Argos a golden peacock with precious stones to form the eyes in his tail-feathers. Athens was his favorite city; during his long sojourn there he wore the Greek costume, accepted the title of archon (magistrate), presided at the games, was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, and conversed with philosophers and artists. He built a complete new city beside the ancient one, with a gymnasium, a circus, and a library. Between the two he erected a triumphal arch bearing two inscriptions; on the side towards Athens was written, "This is the city of Theseus," and on the side towards the new city, "This is the city of Hadrian."

He extended his visit to the Greek cities of Asia, and built at Smyrna a temple and the most beautiful gymnasium in Asia. Smyrna thanked him by giving him the titles of "savior" and "founder," and establishing the Hadrianic games. He visited the places of interest in the country, the tomb of Tantalus and the bas-relief of Sesostris. At Troy he restored the tomb of Ajax and composed Greek verses in honor of the city.

He continued his journey into Syria and Judæa. At Antioch he consulted the oracle at Daphne's spring, and

¹ The largest city in this country is still Adrianople (*Hadrianopolis*, the city of Hadrian).

then had the place closed. He went as far as Baalbec and Palmyra, the desert cities which were supported by passing caravans. He visited the Dead Sea and the strongholds of the new province of Arabia.

Arrived at Alexandria, in Egypt, he visited the library and the museum and argued with the scholars, with whom he could not agree. Passing up the Nile, he met with a great grief in the death of Antinoüs, a young Asiatic and his favorite slave, who was drowned in the river. Hadrian had him worshipped as a god, built in his honor the city of Antinopolis near the spot where he had perished, and made a road from this city to the Red Sea.

News of a serious nature brought him back to Judæa. While passing through the province he had ordered a colony of veterans to be established on the site of the ruined city of Jerusalem; this was the colony of *Ælia Capitolina*. The Jews rose in rebellion, under command of a priest and a bandit chief known as Bar Cocheba (son of the star), who claimed to be sent by God to deliver the people of Israel. The rebels gained Jerusalem and the mastery of Judæa, and it was three years before the governor of Syria could put them down. One by one he took their strongholds and massacred all the men. He is said to have taken fifty fortresses and nine hundred and eighty-five towns (132-134 A.D.), in which campaign five hundred and eighty thousand Jews perished.

Hadrian took away the name of Judæa from the province (calling it *Palestinian Syria*) and established two legions there, although it was not a frontier province. The country was left practically a desert. All Jews were forbidden, under penalty of death, to come within the limits of Jerusalem; once a year they were allowed to come and weep at the foot of the city wall. The Jews scattered through the empire held to their religion, their synagogues and their councils of elders. They would have nothing in common with infidels, gradually ceased the use of Greek, and had their books written only in Hebrew.

Hadrian returned to Rome and spent his last years there (134–138 A.D.). He built a large villa at Tibur (Tivoli) and reproduced there in miniature the monuments and landscapes he had most admired in his travels: an academy, a lyceum, a theatre, and even a little valley of Tempe with its rivers and mountains. The ruins of this villa have disclosed bas-reliefs, statues, and mosaics.

Antoninus (138–161 A.D.) and **Marcus Aurelius** (161–180 A.D.).—Hadrian had adopted Antoninus, a rich senator



ANTONINUS. (NAPLES.)

from the Roman city of Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul, who was now recognized as emperor. Antoninus was already fifty-two years old, and simple and economical in his habits.

He refused the money usually offered to the emperors, and paid the soldiers' *donativum* out of his own private fortune. He lived plainly, and practised such strict economy that at the end of twenty years he left more than a hundred million dollars in the treasury.

Being of a mild and rather timid nature, he lived quietly at Rome. He treated the senate with respect and attended its meetings regularly. He voted generally for the lightest penalties, and readily granted pardon to the condemned. A conspiracy against him was discovered, but he would not allow the senate to search for the guilty persons.

He is supposed to have said on this occasion : "What good will it do me to know which of my subjects hate me?"—The following speech is also credited to him : "I wish to treat the senate as I should wish to be treated if I were a senator."—His adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, was reproached by his friends for weeping at the emperor's deathbed. "Let him be a man," said Antoninus : "philosophy and the empire should not be allowed to wither the heart."

Antoninus made no wars during his entire reign.

"It is better," he said, "to save one citizen than to kill a thousand enemies."

Before becoming emperor he had adopted a young man named Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded him with his son-in-law, Lucius Verus, as his colleague (161 A.D.).

Marcus Aurelius, from his twelfth year, wore the garb of a philosopher and slept on the ground; his mother with great difficulty persuaded him to accept a bed of sheep-skins. When, at the age of eighteen, he was adopted by Antoninus, he continued the study of rhetoric; later he became absorbed in the doctrines of Stoicism (see page 358), and never ceased to practise it even after he became emperor. He submitted his conscience to a rigid examination every day, asking himself if he had fulfilled all his duties.

He wrote in his *Meditations*: "We must not be angry with evil-doers, but rather bear with them in patience. Correct

them, if possible; otherwise, remember that kindness has been given us to use towards them."

He lived with perpetual austerity, eating little, working hard, and having no distraction other than the writing of his thoughts. Although his health was feeble, he con-



MARCUS AURELIUS.

scientiously fulfilled all his imperial duties. He attended the sittings of the senate and remained to the end. He often sat in judgment and gave his attention to the reforming of the laws. He disliked the idea of war, but nevertheless devoted years to defending the empire against her enemies.

"A spider," he wrote, "is proud if he catches a fly.

Men boast, one of taking a hare, another a boar or a bear, still another the Sarmatians. Are not they all brigands in the eyes of the wise ? ”

The Parthians attacked Syria. Verus went to fight them,



PARTHIANS RENDERING HOMAGE TO MARCUS AURELIUS.

and conquered a small section of Mesopotamia. The Moors attacked the Spanish coasts and were repulsed.

Rome's most dangerous enemies were the barbarians of the Danube region. Some of the German tribes crossed the river and asked for lands in the Roman provinces. They were driven back, but all at once the whole nation entered the empire, some Greece, some Aquileia, some Italy, ravag-

ing, plundering, and carrying off the inhabitants. A pestilence had recently destroyed a portion of the Roman army, a poor harvest had ruined the country, and there were no taxes coming in. Marcus Aurelius sold the palace jewels to raise money, and with great difficulty collected an army in Italy, enrolling the military police, slaves whom he freed for this service, and even gladiators. Verus died, and Marcus Aurelius himself led the army which drove out the invaders (167 A.D.).

This war was so terrible that it has been compared to the war against Hannibal. Marcus Aurelius fought for several years on the Danube, chiefly against the Marcomanni (in Bohemia) and the Quadi (in Moravia). The barbarians sued for peace at last; they restored the Roman captives, promised to furnish auxiliaries to the emperor, and swore never again to approach the Danube (176 A.D.).

Marcus Aurelius returned to the Danube and resumed the war with the intention of destroying the barbarians. It was his wish to make two Roman provinces of their territory, but he died at Vindobona (Vienna) completely worn out, at the age of sixty (180 A.D.).

Government of the Antonines.—The time of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius is called the period of the Antonines. It was the happiest period in the history of the empire.

None of these emperors had sons, so that the empire was not handed down as a heritage. The emperor chose an adopted son and trained him for his successor, so that in time he quietly and intelligently assumed the reins of government.

The emperor was no longer dependent on the caprice of the prætorians, neither did he fear the nobles of the senate. He bore himself as the first magistrate of the republic, living in a simplicity that had no resemblance to a court life. His power was absolute, but he used it modestly and only for the good of the state.

The senate remained the most honored body in the government, and the families of its members occupied the most exalted position in the empire. The majority now were not descendants of the ancient Roman nobles, but of Roman colonists and the great landowners of the provinces. They were obedient to the emperor¹ and no longer endeavored to restore the senatorial government.

Hadrian organized, as an aid to the emperor in the government, the council, composed of senators and jurisconsults. Its duties were to prepare the edicts and investigate affairs of state.

The first emperors had annoyed the nobles by taking their freedmen for their secretaries. The Antonines, while they could not very well drop this custom, chose knights, members of the second grade of nobility, to supervise the work of administration. There was one overseer at the head of each of the four branches of the service: dispatches, accounts, petitions, and investigations.

The system inaugurated by Augustus still prevailed in the provinces: governors chosen from the senatorial nobility, procurators from the equestrian nobility of the second grade. The emperor gave them a salary and forbade them to take anything from the inhabitants. He allowed the inhabitants to complain against the governors, and punished the latter severely if he found them guilty of robbery or violence. If he was satisfied with a governor, he left him in his province for several years. The provinces were therefore no longer a source of revenue to the Roman nobles, but kept their revenues and made use of them at home. The barbarian countries, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Illyria, grew, as Italy had earlier, into rich and populous countries, with their share of houses, cities, and public buildings.

Rome sent out very few officials to her provinces. In all the countries which composed modern France there were

¹ There was an abortive conspiracy of senators against Trajan and another against Hadrian.

only a hundred, and not more than twelve hundred soldiers. The emperor left his subjects to administer their own affairs, only asking them not to make war among themselves, to pay their taxes, which were in most cases sufficiently moderate, and fixed since the conquest, and to appear before the governor when he made his yearly tour to decide matters of importance.

All other matters were decided by the petty governments which had been in operation before the conquest. There were a number of these in each province, ordinarily one for each town of any importance. The surrounding country formed the territory of the town, and the whole what was technically known to the Romans as a city (*civitas*). Each city was organized on the model of the Roman city, with its senate, magistrates, and assembly of the people. The magistrates, who were elected for one year, were divided in colleges of two members each, one for justice and government (like the Roman consuls), the other for police and markets (like the *ædiles*). The senate, which was called the *curia*, was made up of the landed proprietors. In the city, as at Rome, the assembly was only a form, and the real power was the curia, that is to say, the wealthy inhabitants. The capital of the little state was a miniature Rome, with its temples, council-chamber, theatres, baths, fountains, aqueducts, and roads. The life of Rome was also reproduced on a small scale, the celebration of ceremonies, and the distribution of grain and money.

These cities paid all their own expenses and received nothing from Rome even towards the support of the administration, courts, or militia. The inhabitants themselves furnished what was needed for their government, construction of buildings, and festivals. In most cases the rich citizens subscribed the money, and in return were made officials by the city, members of the curia, or priests in the temples; their names, together with a eulogy, were inscribed on the public buildings. Trajan and Hadrian granted the

cities permission to receive gifts and legacies, and many wealthy citizens bequeathed to them large sums of money. The younger Pliny spent more than eleven million sesterces (550,000 dollars) for Comum, his native town; he built a library, a school, and a temple of Ceres with galleries for the merchants during the fairs. An inhabitant of Massilia gave ten million sesterces (500,000 dollars) to rebuild the city wall.

The Roman empire from Augustus to Diocletian (300 A.D.) has been called simply an agglomeration of these separate municipalities, each a single, separate grain in a vast heap. They had no organic connection with each other, the sole source of unity being allegiance to the emperor. The provinces were simply divisions for imperial convenience. But two towns in the same province, as Athens and Corinth, were no more united governmentally than were Athens and Lugdunum (Lyons), save that they were under the same provincial governor representing the emperor. The exception was Gaul, which had a provincial assembly for certain very minor purposes.

Egypt, as the great source of the grain-supply of Rome, was kept by the emperors in special dependence. All men of senatorial rank were forbidden to set foot in it, and it was administered by knights as the personal estate of the emperor. This was to preclude the possibility of a rebellion in so vital a territory.

Rome had rendered the peoples of the provinces a service in conquering them; she had suppressed internal wars in the empire and established "Roman peace." A Greek orator thus described the condition of the world: "Every man can go where he pleases; travellers are as safe in the mountains as the inhabitants of a city within its walls. The world has put off her old armor and attired herself in holiday dress." For the first time the inhabitants of Europe could live in tranquillity, without fear of being massacred or enslaved by a hostile army.

SOURCES.

For this period the sources available in English are most scanty. Of Dio Cassius, the standard historian of the period, there is a German translation, and the *Historia Augusta*, containing the lives of the emperors from Hadrian to Diocletian, is easily read in the original. The chief source in English is Eutropius. Bk. VIII, §§ 1-14.

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Duruy.	cc. lxxix-lxxx.
Merivale.	cc. lxi-lxviii.
Morey.	c. xxvi.
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Pelham.	Bk. vi, c. i.
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M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS.
(Bronze medallion of the year 222.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

ARTS, LETTERS, AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

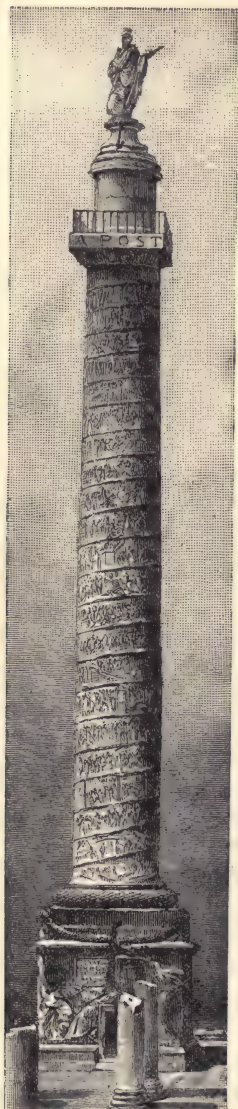
Great Monuments at Rome and in the Provinces.—

During the first two centuries of the empire Rome increased in size and beauty. The emperors erected a large number of new structures.

On the Palatine hill, where Augustus had his house, Caligula built himself a palace which was adorned with Greek paintings and statues and extended to the Forum. Some of the most beautiful of the antique paintings known to us have been found near by in the ruins of a beautiful house which is believed to have been originally the residence of Livia, the widow of Augustus.

In the plain at the foot of the Palatine hill Nero built the Golden House with a pond and a park. When this was destroyed Domitian built a new palace in its place, with a great marble hall with columns, where the emperor held his tribunal and received envoys from foreign kings.

On the site of Nero's park Vespasian erected, in memory of the capture of Jerusalem, the arch of Titus, with bas-reliefs representing the prince's triumph over the Jews. On the same site he also erected the Colosseum for the circus games. This was the largest of all the amphitheatres, so large and so solid that it is still standing. It is 620 feet long, 513 feet wide, and 157 feet high. The arena is 287 feet long and 180 feet wide. The seats were arranged in several tiers, the lowest of which was reserved for the emperor and the nobles. There were seats for eighty-seven



COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

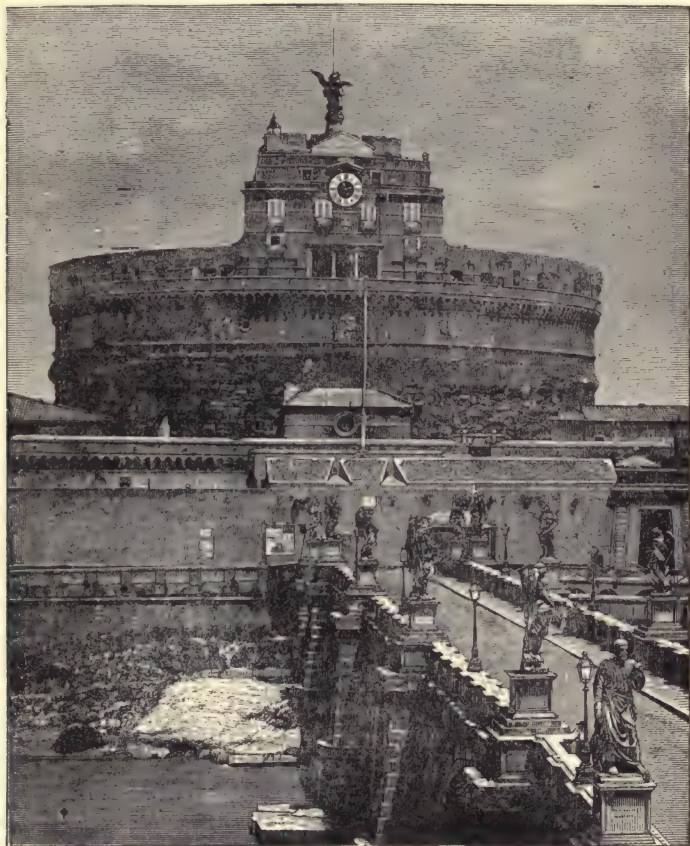
thousand spectators, and standing-room for fifteen or twenty thousand more.

There were already three forums, the original one and those of Cæsar and Augustus. Trajan added another, the Forum of Trajan, which was the largest and most beautiful of all. He began by excavating between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and levelled a space six hundred and fifty feet wide, to a depth which is measured by the height of the Column of Trajan (about 140 feet). The area thus prepared was made the site of a group of monuments: the arch of triumph, the square with the equestrian statue of Trajan in the middle, the basilica, the library, the temple, and the great Column of Trajan, adorned with bas-reliefs in marble representing scenes in the Dacian war. The Forum of Trajan was considered one of the wonders of the world.

On the open space near the Campus Martius the emperors constructed a large number of porticoes and galleries with columns under which the people could move about and be protected from sun and rain. Some of these were adorned with statues and pictures like a museum.

On the other side of the Tiber Hadrian built a tomb, the Mausoleum of Hadrian (now known as the Castle of St. Angelo), with a stone bridge. He also repaired Agrippa's Pantheon.

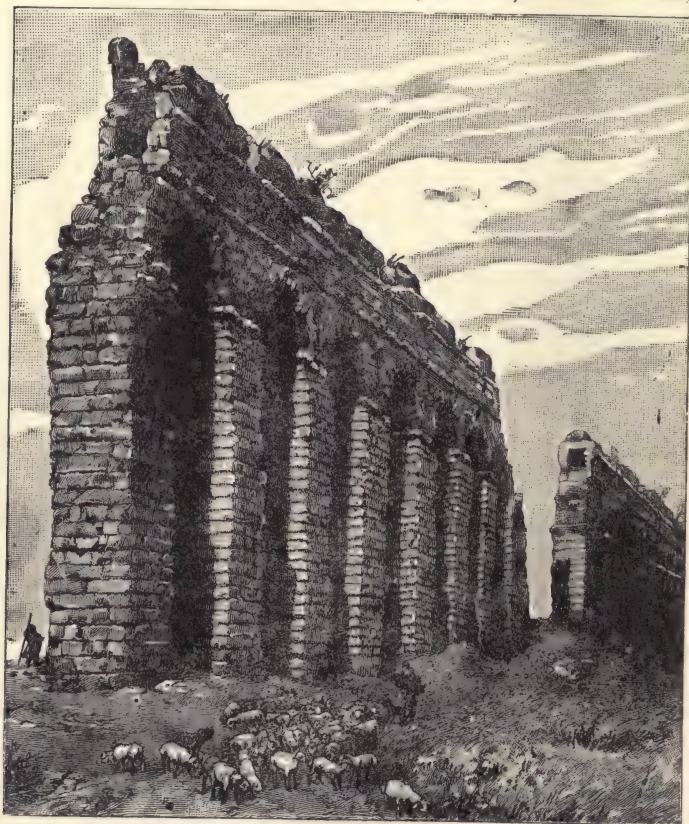
At the end of the reign of Augustus there were seven aqueducts bringing water into Rome. Three new ones had now been constructed, making nearly two hundred and sixty



MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN.

miles of conduits, twenty of which were supported by columns and arches. Rome's water-supply was better than that of London or Paris to-day.

A portion of this water was for the public baths, the *Thermæ*, all of which were constructed under the emperors (Baths of Agrippa, Nero, Titus, Trajan, etc.). These baths,



RUINS OF ROMAN AQUEDUCT.

which were used as much for social intercourse as for bathing, were enormous edifices adorned with statues, and accommodated sixteen hundred bathers. The largest were the Baths of Caracalla, built between 206 and 217 A.D.

Over the vaulted chambers which served as storage- and furnace-rooms there were, first, a great marble tank of cold water; next, a sweating-room (164 feet by 82) with massive granite pillars; third, a great heated hall surrounded by small bath-rooms; fourth, two immense galleries with columns; fifth, dressing-rooms; sixth, rubbing-rooms. All of these were paved with mosaic and adorned with pictures and statuary. Outside there was a large garden, shut in by a wall of buildings, comprising a portico, libraries, gymnasiums, and lounging-rooms. The water was brought by



AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES.

an aqueduct to a reservoir formed by sixty great vaulted chambers.

Claudius and Trajan built the two great harbors at Ostia to permit ships to land near Rome.

We do not know all the monuments that were erected under the emperors. Many have disappeared; others, in the African and Syrian deserts, have only recently been discovered. Enough remain, however, to give us an idea of a country embellished with bridges, aqueducts, circuses, theatres, temples, basilicas, and triumphal arches.

The ruins of about eighty amphitheatres have been discovered in Italy. Two of Italy's greatest seaports date

from this period, Centumellæ (Civita Vecchia) on the west coast and Ancona on the Adriatic; both were constructed under Trajan.

In Spain we may still see the bridge of Alcantara over the Tagus, sixty feet in height, built in the reign of Trajan; also the huge aqueduct at Segovia. Gaul has preserved the monuments constructed in the south, the theatre and triumphal arch of Orange, the arenas at Arles and Nîmes, the temple at Nîmes known as the Block-house, and the aqueduct which brought the mountain springs through the valley of the Gard to the city.

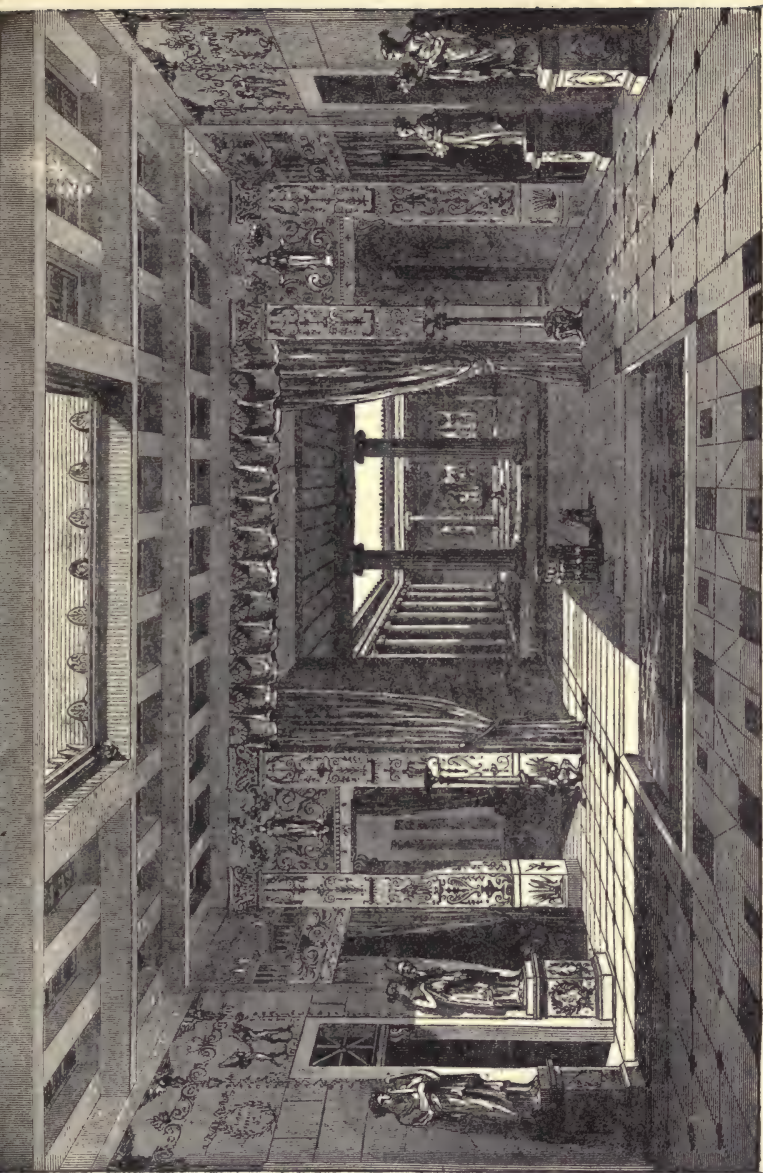
The Roman House.—A rich man's house under the empire was not much like the Roman house of antiquity. It was copied from the Greek houses in the Orient, with the front of the house facing away from the street.

Entering, one crossed an enclosed gallery which took the place of the old vestibule, and came to the reception hall. This was still called the atrium, though more like the Greek *aula*; it was supported by marble columns, paved with mosaic, and adorned with statues. The rooms opening off the atrium no longer served as bedrooms; they were the conversation-rooms, the dining-rooms, furnished with bronze or possibly silver couches, the picture-gallery (*pinacotheca*), library, and great reception-hall.

The old court behind the house was replaced by the peristyle, open galleries supported by rows of columns surrounding a little garden, with shrubs and baskets of flowers, and a fountain.

Finally, beyond the garden, in the lower building were the family bedrooms, bath-rooms, and gymnasium.

It was now the fashion to decorate the interior of the house. The floors were paved with mosaic, the walls adorned with pictures, marble slabs, or hangings, and the ceiling wainscoted in some rich wood. There were tables of valuable woods, and cupboards of bronze or silver where the silver vessels were displayed.



HOUSE OF PANSA, IN POMPEII. (*Restoration.*)

theatres, sixty-four for the circuses, and ten for gladiatorial combats). The ordinary shows lasted from morning to night; the citizens enjoyed them without pay. The show became the supreme passion of the Roman world.

The theatre had first been organized on the Greek model; the actors were masked, and the plays an imitation of the Greek. The Romans cared very little for this delicate style of entertainment, and greatly preferred the mime, a sort of comic farce. The actors, who impersonated ridiculous characters, wore a sort of clown's costume, slapped themselves, and executed grotesque dances. Contrary to ancient custom, the female parts were taken by women.

The pantomime also was very popular. One actor appeared alone on the stage and, without uttering a word, played his part by means of gestures and facial expression. Sometimes there were ballets by professional dancers.

In some rare instances there were songs and recitations, as in Greece. Nero appeared on the stage as a singer. Domitian, when he established the Capitoline games, added a chorus of singers, and built for them a special covered theatre, the Odeon.

The Circus, designed for chariot-races, was a race-track surrounded by rising tiers of seats. There were several circuses at Rome; the most noted of these was the Circus Maximus, at the foot of the Palatine hill, with accommodations for two hundred and fifty thousand spectators. At either end of the sand-covered arena was a post of gilded bronze, around which the chariot must pass. The course was seven times around the arena, whose circumference was over half a mile. The driver stood on a light chariot, drawn commonly by four horses, with his whip in his hand and the reins fastened to his belt, shouting all the while to excite and encourage his horses. Often the chariot struck against the post as it turned. The winner of the race received a prize.

Twenty-four races were the usual number for one day.

The chariots were supplied by rival companies, each dressing its drivers in a distinguishing color. There were four colors altogether, white, red, blue, and green, but these were finally reduced to two, the Blues and the Greens. The spectators sided with one or the other, and during the race they shouted, stamped, and waved their handkerchiefs; sometimes they even came to blows with one another. Chariot-racing became as popular as horse-racing is with us. Even the women and children laid wagers and talked of the races. When the emperors supported one color or the other, as Caligula and Nero did the green and Vitellius the blue, the rivalry became a political affair.

The amphitheatre was used for various sorts of shows, chief among which were the gladiatorial combats. Men armed with swords (the word *gladiator* is derived from *gladius*, a sword) fought until one or both were killed, for the amusement of the spectators. The custom was an old one, probably of Etruscan origin, a sort of human sacrifice in honor of a departed soul; for these combats at first took place only at the funeral of some noble.

Later combats became a regular form of entertainment, and the number of combatants increased. The first gladiators were barbarians captured in war, who fought in native costume and with native weapons. After each great war thousands of prisoners were dedicated to this purpose, Trajan giving ten thousand Dacian warriors. Later slaves and men condemned to death were employed. Finally it became a profession, which men entered either as a means of livelihood or because they enjoyed it. They were prepared for the arena in a special school, where they were closely confined and subjected to a severe discipline and continual practice. Each bound himself by oath to "let himself be beaten with rods, burned with hot irons, or even killed by the chief."

On the show-day the gladiators entered the arena, saluting the emperor with these words: "Farewell, Cæsar; those

who are about to die salute thee." Then at the sound of horns and trumpets they rushed at each other and fought, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. The two sides were never armed alike. A half-naked retiarius, armed with a net, contended with a myrmillo, armed with every possible weapon; a Samnite with a small sword and a large shield, against a Thracian with a small shield and a large sword. When one of the two combatants fell, the spectators decided whether he should be killed or spared. Attendants with ropes removed the bodies that were left in the arena, and took them to a room where they were examined. A man in the guise of Mercury touched them with a hot iron to see if there was still life in them. Another in the guise of Charon dispatched with a club those who were hopelessly wounded; the others were cared for and restored to health.

There were also combats in war-chariots or on horseback. Even naval battles (*naumachiæ*) were fought in the lakes and reservoirs. Claudius had two entire fleets contend together on Lake Fucinus; their crews, numbering nineteen thousand men, were condemned prisoners gathered together from all parts of the empire; engines of war were placed along the shores of the lake to compel them to fight.

The emperor always assisted in these massacres. Marcus Aurelius made himself unpopular in Rome by showing his distaste for them, preferring to spend his time in reading, talking, and hearing the grievances of his subjects.

The amphitheatre was also used for hunts. Wild beasts, lions, panthers, leopards, bears, boars, elephants, buffaloes, stags, bulls, and ostriches, were let loose in the arena. Pompey and Cæsar introduced new animals, the hippopotamus, giraffe, and crocodile. Hunters slew these animals with bow, javelin, or spear. During the year 106 A.D. almost eleven thousand of them were killed. Two animals were also pitted against each other, a bear against a buffalo or a bull against an elephant; or a man with a sword or spear, and without cuirass or shield, against a lion or a bear.

Later on it proved more interesting to chain a man naked to a post and set a wild beast on him; the pleasure consisted in seeing him torn apart and devoured. Condemned prisoners were used for this purpose, both men and women, and their execution converted into public entertainment. They were not even permitted to die in a natural manner. One was dressed to represent Orpheus and was destroyed by a bear; another, as Hercules, was burned on a funeral-pyre; another crucified as the brigand Laureolus.



SCHOOL PUNISHMENT.

Not in Rome only but in all the great cities of the empire were the people entertained by comedies, mimes, chariot-races, gladiatorial combats, and prisoners delivered to wild beasts.

Literature.—A number of the ancient tongues were still spoken in the empire: Oscan and Etruscan in Italy, Celtic in Gaul and Britain, Basque in Spain, Berberian and Phœnician in Africa, Coptic in Egypt, Syrian in the East, and Albanian in Illyria. Only two languages, however, were written, Latin in the West, Greek in the East. The

subject peoples, having had no native literature, adopted that of one of the great ancient races: the East produced Greek writers; the West, Latin writers.

There were Greek schools of long standing in Athens, Alexandria, and Rhodes, and others were founded in Gaul, Rome, and Carthage. Under the empire some of the cities established Latin schools for the youth of rich families, and began to pay salaries to teachers, especially in the branches of rhetoric and philosophy.

The most famous Latin authors of the first century were not natives of Italy, but belonged to the Roman cities of Gaul, and of Spain in particular. Gallus the poet, Trogus Pompeius the historian, and Aper the orator, all known to us only by reputation, were natives of southern Gaul. Seneca the rhetorician, Seneca the philosopher, Lucan, Silius Italicus, and Martial, the poets, Pomponius Mela the geographer, Columella the agriculturist, Quintilian the rhetorician, were all Spanish Romans.

Public readings were the fashion of the period. The assemblies in the Forum and great political trials had been given up and orators had no opportunity to display their powers. Pollio, a favorite of Augustus, set the fashion of inviting his friends to hear him read his works. It became the custom among literary Romans to gather their friends together and read them what they had written, poems, panegyrics, fragments of history, even tragedies. In this way authors secured an audience that was obliged to applaud.

This was also a time of famous rhetoricians. Young men learned the art of speaking in the schools, the masters teaching them the rules which for two centuries the professors of eloquence had been shaping, and giving them the material of imaginary discourses to develop.

The second century was, after the Augustan age, the most brilliant in the literature of the empire. Both Greek and Latin authors appeared at this time.

The Latin writers lived mainly during Trajan's reign. There was Pliny the younger, chiefly known for his letters; Juvenal, famed for his Satires; Suetonius, the biographer of the first twelve emperors, and the most celebrated of all; Tacitus the historian and one of the most brilliant of Roman writers. All these were natives of Italy.

The Greek writers flourished mainly under Hadrian. The best known are Plutarch, a Bœotian Greek, author of the Lives of famous men; the orator Dion Chrysostomus, and two historians, Appian of Alexandria, and Arrian, governor under Hadrian; Lucian the satirist and philosopher, and two famous scholars, Ptolemy the geographer and Galen the physician. Marcus Aurelius composed his Meditations in Greek.

The Stoics.—The Romans were not interested in theoretical philosophy, but they adopted the doctrines of the Greek philosophers on morality, in order to have a rule of life. They divided at first in two sects, Stoics and Epicureans. Horace was an Epicurean; he said that the only real good was pleasure, and that the wise man lived in peaceful indifference to the future.

At the close of the first century the Stoics predominated. Their belief was that the supreme good was virtue, which consisted in observing the laws established by the Divinity. This world's goods, riches, honor, beauty, health, were as nothing to the wise man; he held only to virtue.

The most famous of the Stoics was Epictetus, a Greek belonging to the first century. He was at first a slave. One day when his master, one of Nero's favorites, was beating him, he said, "You will break my leg." The master continued his violence and broke the leg. Epictetus said quietly, "I told you you would do it." He was freed from slavery and began to preach, attracting a large number of disciples. He died under Trajan. One of his pupils collected his discourses in a *Manual*. Epictetus urged, as of primary importance, the subjection of the passions and

obedience to God. "You must shape your souls as a carpenter does his wood." "When Zeus (God) sent you upon the earth, he placed on you his commands: love your fellow man, covet not your neighbor's goods, be just and faithful." These commands are graven on the conscience; the wise man must overcome his egotism and the violence of his temper; he must help his suffering fellow men by setting them a good example: "Like you I have neither country, house, property, nor slaves; I have only the earth, heaven, and my cloak." The aim of philosophy is to teach us to despise this world and give us the perfect serenity which nothing can disturb. It is all summed up in this formula: "Bear and forbear."

Stoicism was taken up by the Roman nobles in the first century, especially by those who were opposed to the emperor. The foremost senators often kept a philosopher near them to direct their consciences and encourage them when they were depressed. If they received a sentence of death, they made it a matter of honor to take their lives bravely. Seneca, Nero's tutor, was a Stoic, but a very imperfect disciple of the doctrine, because he had amassed a large fortune and justified the emperor in murdering his mother. Seneca calmly opened his veins and dictated a discourse to his secretaries while the blood flowed.

Philosophy now became a profession, its followers serving as directors of the conscience, and counsellors concerning the conduct of life; a number of the emperors had each his philosopher. They even visited prisoners, sick persons, and condemned criminals, to show them what Seneca called "the saving light of truth." They sometimes addressed the audience at the theatre. In many cases they led abstemious lives, eating poor food, drinking only water, sleeping on the ground, clothed only in a cloak, and letting the beard and hair grow long. Some had no home; with no possessions but a cloak, a wallet, and a staff, they begged their way from place to place.

They put their pupils through certain exercises to fortify them in virtue: prayer, meditation on a moral thought, nightly examination of the conscience, and reading the life of a great philosopher. They declared themselves citizens of the universe and regarded all men as brothers, even barbarians and slaves. Seneca already began to recommend milder treatment of slaves, and to condemn cruel masters and gladiatorial combats.

Marcus Aurelius, who was a disciple of Epictetus, was called "the philosopher on the throne." Even in time of war he continued to examine his conscience. It was at this time that he wrote his *Counsels* to himself: "Remember that all men are your brothers and you will love them. What must you do? Honor the gods and do good to your fellow men."

*** Disturbing Elements.**—Although the age of the Antonines has been characterized as the one when the Mediterranean lands were possibly governed better than at any time before or since, yet the second century was not without its darker side.

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius a frightful pestilence was raging in the East, and this was imported by returning Roman soldiers into Europe, where its mortality seems to have been comparable to that of the Black Death in the fourteenth century. It has been estimated that half of the population of Italy, for instance, was swept away. This loss of population was not without serious effect upon the resources of the empire, and especially upon its military strength.

The Germanic peoples were beginning to press heavily upon the frontiers. This was but the shadow, cast in advance, of the great irruption of Germans which was in the next two centuries to overwhelm the western half of the empire.

One social result following the victories of Marcus Aurelius over the Marcomanni was the transplantation to

Roman soil of great numbers of these peoples who were settled there in a half-servile condition. They were not prisoners of war, and yet they were under the surveillance of Roman landowners, at first the emperor, and later private citizens, on whose estates they were set to work. In their relation to their masters may be seen the germs of the serfdom of the Middle Ages. They were called "coloni." In process of time many of the lower class of Roman citizens gravitated into a similar condition of serfdom. Thus a caste system was begun which was to spread until it had embraced all the orders of society, and become one of the vicious elements in the social system of the later empire.

PARALLEL READING.

- Botsford c. xi, pp. 256-262.
 Bury *Students' Roman Empire*, cc. xxix-xxxi.
 Morey c. xxvi.
 Capes *Age of the Antonines*.
 Farrar *Seekers after God; Marcus Aurelius*.
 Gibbon cc. i-iii.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHRISTIANITY.

The Christian Religion.—It was during the reign of Tiberius that Christ was condemned by the Jewish Council at Jerusalem and crucified. He left only a small number of followers, led by the Twelve Disciples. He himself had announced that his religion should have a humble beginning: “The kingdom of God is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which indeed is the least of all the seeds, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.”

Christ had said to his disciples, “Go teach all nations.” Henceforth they were known as “apostles” (messengers), and they went into every country to preach the Gospel, the “glad tidings,” the news that God had come upon the earth in the form of Christ to save all who believed in him. Those who adopted this creed called themselves Christians.

The first apostles were all Jews, and most of them remained in Jerusalem. The first Christians were Jews also, and continued to practise the Jewish customs.

It was a new convert, a Jew of Tarsus, the apostle Paul, that carried the Gospel into the Greek cities, not only to the Jews, but to the pagans. He said to them: “But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.” The pagans could henceforth become Christians without adopting the Jewish customs; the other nations, instead of being shut out, as they were from the

Jewish religion, could all come together in the religion of Christ.

The new religion was to believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who gave his life to save mankind, to follow his example and practise his teachings. His acts and words were recorded in books written in Greek and called the Gospels.

Jesus, surnamed the Christ, that is to say, the anointed one, is the Master, the Lord, and the Saviour of men, come to found the kingdom of God on earth. The Jews believed that he wished to become king, and when they crucified him they set up over his cross the mocking inscription, "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." But royalty was not what Jesus desired; he said, "My kingdom is not of this world." The kingdom of God is the union in heaven of all those who believe in him. To please God and make himself worthy of his kingdom, the Christian need not offer sacrifices and celebrate elaborate ceremonies, like the pagan and the Jew. He must labor, however, to make himself perfect. "They that worship God must worship him in spirit and in truth." Christ himself gave the watchword: "Be ye also perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect."

To be perfect, the first thing is to love. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself." To love others is to do good to them.

Christ never made any distinction of persons; he died to save not a single people, but all peoples. He commanded his disciples to "teach all nations." All men are equal before God.

By the example of his own life he taught us not to despise poverty, going about from place to place without possessions of any sort.

He taught also humility. He interested himself in the poor and sick, women and children, and all those that the world least esteemed. His disciples were poor men: "Be ye meek and lowly of heart." He loved children, and said,

“Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.” “Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.”

He preached the renunciation of all the things of this world, wealth, honors, power, and family. “If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.”

The Primitive Church.—Christ and his apostles devoted themselves preferably to the outcasts of the world. For a long time the majority of Christians were poor people, working men, petty employees, and slaves, all living in the cities, where Greek was spoken. Even at Rome there were few Christians except among the Greeks; their writings and the inscriptions on their tombs are all in Greek.

The Christians of each city met together for religious worship; this meeting was the church (assembly), and its members formed one great family. They treated one another as brothers, lending assistance in time of need, the rich caring for the poor, the sick, and the afflicted. This community called itself the church; for example, the church of Corinth, the church of Antioch. In the same way the whole union of Christians throughout the world was called the Church of Christ, or the *Catholic* (universal) *Church*.

A very simple service was celebrated at these meetings. Prayers were offered to God, hymns sung, the Gospels or Epistles read aloud, with an exhortation or explanation of the Holy Word by some member of the church. The great ceremony was the Lord's Supper, also called the Eucharist (giving of thanks), in memory of the last time Christ ate with his disciples. The worshippers partook of a very frugal repast, the “love-feast” (brotherly feast), thanked God, and kissed one another.

The new convert who desired to join the Christians had first to be initiated into the Christian doctrine. While he

was receiving this instruction he stood at the door during their meetings and listened to the prayer, singing, and reading; but he was not yet admitted to membership in the church, nor could he take the communion. When his instruction was completed he was admitted to the church by the ceremony of baptism. Clothed in a white robe, he was plunged into the water, coming forth a *neophyte* (new-born), newly born into the Christian life.

Tertullian, a Christian writer of the end of the second century, said of these reunions: "We assemble to offer our prayer to God and to read the Holy Scriptures. We hear exhortation and reprimands. . . . Each of us brings a small offering at the beginning of the month, but this is not compulsory. The money is used to feed or bury the poor, to relieve the orphan and the sick and aged." Of the Holy Communion: "We all sit down at the table and, after offering a prayer to God, we eat what our hunger demands. . . . Then we wash our hands and light our torches. Each one is asked to sing a canticle from the Holy Scriptures or of his own composition. . . . The feast ends, as it began, with a prayer."

In each city the church formed a little society, organized after the model of the Greek associations of the period. It had leaders to conduct the services, instruct converts, and reprimand all who did wrong; these were called presbyters (elders), and were often compared to the shepherd who guards his flock from the wolves. There were also deacons (attendants), whose duty it was to administer the church funds, distribute relief to the poor, and visit the sick.

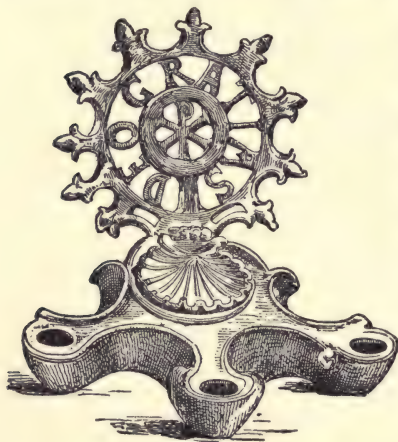
The head of the church was called the bishop (overseer); he supervised the community and represented it. He was regarded as the successor of the Apostles, invested with supernatural power, and the guardian of the true faith.

The most venerated of all was the bishop of Rome, the successor of Saint Peter and bishop of the imperial capital.¹

[¹ It is hardly necessary to say that these are the views of M. Seignobos,

Persecution.—The Jews were the first to persecute the Christians. Saint Stephen, the first martyr, was stoned to death in the streets of Jerusalem.

The Roman government did not concern itself with the beliefs of its subjects, but allowed every man to practise his religion freely. How-



CHRISTIAN LAMP.

ever, there were certain ceremonies in which every Roman had to take part: he must assist in the public festivals in honor of the gods; in the courts he must swear by the gods; if a soldier, he must worship the standards, the genius of the emperor, and the genius of the army; if a magistrate, he must join in the sacrifice which inaugurated every public

act, and himself offer incense to the god Augustus and the goddess Rome. Now to a Christian these acts seemed to be impious. They refused to take part in them and so exposed themselves to condemnation, not for being Christians, but for disobeying the laws of the empire.

The inhabitants of the cities detested these people who never showed themselves at the festivals, shows, or banquets, who lived apart from the rest and seemed to despise them. They often regarded the Christians as sorcerers and magicians.

The Christians held secret meetings, and the public, being excluded, imagined that all sorts of wicked things went on, that children were killed and eaten.

The Christians thus met with more or less persecution from which many would dissent in part. The system here described was not developed till well on into the second century after Christ.]

from the first to the fourth century. The most violent attacks, however, were the later ones.

After the burning of Rome Nero accused the Christians of setting fire to the city. No evidence was found against them, but many were condemned to death as "enemies to the human race." Some of these were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts and thrown to the dogs, who devoured them; others were crucified; others were covered with pitch and, fastened to long poles, set up as torches to burn in Nero's gardens (64 A.D.).

Trajan was the first emperor to adopt a general measure against the Christian religion. He forbade the Christians to meet together under pain of death, regarding them as a dangerous secret society.

The younger Pliny, governor of Bithynia, wrote the emperor that a number of Christians had been brought to him, and that he had put the more obstinate of them to death; he asked what was to be done with the rest. The following report was the result of his investigation: "They affirmed that their only fault was that they met on certain days before sunrise, worshipped Christ as God, sang hymns in his praise, and bound themselves not to commit crimes, but to refrain from robbery, murder, adultery, and false swearing; that after this they were in the habit of separating, meeting again to partake of food together. . . . I felt it necessary," Pliny added, "to seek out the truth by subjecting to torture two female attendants, whom they called deaconesses. I discovered nothing but an absurd and exaggerated superstition. . . . This superstition has invaded not only the cities, but the towns and the country districts as well."

Trajan replied: "It is not at all necessary to search out the Christians. If after they are denounced they still hold to their faith, they must be punished. But if any declare they are not Christians, and will prove it by offering prayers to our gods, they shall be pardoned, no matter what they may

have done in the past. As for anonymous denunciations . . . they must not be noticed, for they set a detestable example and have no place in our times."

From this time on the Christians were unceasingly condemned to death, especially in the East. The magistrates were in most cases unwilling to begin this persecution, but the population of the great cities often demanded it. Famines, epidemics, earthquakes, were all accepted as a sign that the gods were angered by the impiety of the Christians. The famous cry was now heard on all sides, "To the lions with the Christians!" and the people forced the magistrates to condemn the Christians and throw them to the beasts.

The Martyrs.—The condemned Christians were executed according to the customs of the time. Roman citizens were beheaded; the rest were crucified, burned, or thrown to the beasts in the amphitheatre. Sometimes their sufferings were aggravated by tortures.

In 177 A.D. a Christian community, composed chiefly of Asiatic Greeks, was discovered in Gaul, in the cities of Lyons and Vienne. These Christians were arrested and led to prison, pelted with stones by a jeering mob. The governor had them appear in his court and condemned all self-avowed Christians for atheism and sacrilege. He tortured them to make them confess that children were eaten at their meetings. Blandina, a young slave, distinguished herself by her courage. Bruised and broken by torture, she only repeated, "I am a Christian. Nothing evil is done at our meetings." Sanctus, a deacon, met every question with the words, "I am a Christian." Red-hot iron blades were applied to their bodies to make them speak, but they maintained silence. After some days in prison, they were again subjected to torture.

Pothinus, the bishop of Lyons, aged and infirm, was brought before the tribunal amid a jeering rabble. To the governor's question, "Who is the God of the Christians?" he replied, "You shall know if you are worthy." At this

the mob attacked him and beat him so violently that he died shortly after in prison.

Many of those condemned were delivered to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Lyons. Sanctus and Maturus were first lashed with whips, then, on the demand of the people, placed in the red-hot iron chair. The odor of burning flesh filled the auditorium, but being still alive at the close of the entertainment, they were struck with a sword. Blandina, meanwhile, was bound to a post with her arms crossed. But the beasts refused to harm her and she was led back to prison.

For some days after this she was brought out into the arena to watch the other Christians tortured and devoured. Her turn came at last. She was placed with a young Christian boy before the altar to sacrifice to the gods. She refused and was then whipped, placed on the red-hot chair, and finally rolled up in a net and thrown to a bull, who tossed her in the air on his horns. In the end the executioner had to be called on.

The bleeding bodies of the martyrs were cut in pieces and exposed for six days, with a guard of soldiers to keep the Christians from burying them. The remains were finally burned and thrown into the Rhone, where all trace of them was lost.

The condemned Christians rejoiced in the assurance of ascending into heaven, and called themselves, not victims, but martyrs (witnesses); their trial was a martyrdom, a public acknowledgment of Christ. They compared themselves to athletes struggling for the prize, which was the martyr's palm or crown. This is the reason why the saints' days are set, not for the anniversary of their birth, but of their death.

There were times when thousands of Christians denounced themselves and demanded condemnation, in order to win the crown. A certain governor who had begun to persecute some of the Christians saw all the Christians of the city appear at his tribunal and demand prosecution. He

executed a number of them and then said to the rest: "Go away, wretched ones. If you are so anxious to die, are there not both ropes and precipices?"

More than one zealous Christian, like Polyeuctus, won his martyrdom by entering a temple and overturning the statues of the gods. The church itself discountenanced this zeal, however, and forbade its believers to seek martyrdom.

The Catacombs.—The Christians, like the Jews, buried the bodies of their dead instead of burning them. They buried all together as brothers equal in death. The burying-ground was called the cemetery (place of rest). It was, as it were, the family tomb of the Christian community. In the large cities, where land was very expensive, cemeteries were built underground. At Rome the spongy rock was pierced by innumerable galleries, leading to underground chambers; the coffins were placed in niches in the walls. In this way passages were dug out for centuries, going always deeper and deeper, until there were five rows of galleries one under another. An underground city of tombs was thus formed, which was later called the Catacombs (region of tombs).¹

These cemeteries were not secret. Many had been begun as the private tomb of a wealthy Christian family, who permitted the bodies of fellow Christians to share it with them. The entrance was sometimes on the public street, marked by a sort of chapel. The Romans regarded these tombs as sacred, so that the Christians had nothing to fear for their cemeteries.

Some of these underground chambers were decorated with ornaments and paintings representing the symbols of Christianity. The usual signs are the fish, the emblem of Christ; the dove, the emblem of the Holy Spirit; the ship and the

¹ The Catacombs were abandoned in the middle ages, but opened up again in recent years. Numerous articles have been found there, including paintings and inscriptions, which have constituted a special science, Christian Archæology.

anchor, emblems of salvation; the lyre, the lamb, and the vine. The scenes most often represented are the Good



THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALIXTUS.

Shepherd carrying the lost sheep, a Christian believer with arms outstretched in prayer, and, from the Old Testament, Noah's ark, David and Goliath, and Daniel in the lions'

den. The figure of Christ was not represented in the earlier times.



PAINTING FROM CEMETERY OF SAINTS NEREUS AND ACHILLEUS. (ROLLER.)

The bodies of the holy martyrs were buried in these underground tombs, and visited by the faithful on the feast-days, when a ceremony was celebrated in their honor.

It is said that during the persecutions of the third century the Christians sometimes took refuge in the Catacombs, either to hold their services or to escape from pursuit.

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CHAPTER XXV.

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.

Prætorian Supremacy.—Every emperor since Nerva had died without leaving sons and had appointed a successor. Marcus Aurelius left a son, Commodus, who became emperor at the age of nineteen. He was a handsome young man, but vain, weak, and cruel.

At the age of twelve he was so enraged at finding his bath not hot enough that he threw his bath-slave into the oven.

As soon as he became emperor (180 A.D.) he made peace with the barbarians, restored their fortresses, and returned to Rome to amuse himself with his companions. His favorite pastime was to play the gladiator and imitate Hercules. He fought seven hundred and fifty combats in the public arena, but ran no real danger, for his opponent knew his part beforehand. He also took part in the hunts, and slew wild animals with the bow or spear. One day he killed one hundred bears, another day he decapitated ostriches. The senators had been ordered to take part in the spectacle, and filled the air with shouts of: "You are our master! You are the first among us all! You are the happiest of men! You are the conqueror! You shall be conqueror! In the memory of man you are the only conqueror!" His nights he spent drinking with actors, gladiators, and circus drivers. He bathed sometimes eight times a day.

Commodus took the surname of Hercules, and posed as Hercules, with a lion's skin and a club.

✓ He gathered together the infirm and crippled, disguised them as monsters, with serpents for tails, armed them with sponges to look like stones, and then slew them with arrows with per-



COMMODUS AS HERCULES.

fect safety. It is said that one day he wanted to shoot his arrows at the spectators, as Hercules had destroyed the Stymphalian birds.

An attempt was made against his life; the murderer raised his knife with the words, "The senate sends you this dagger," but was disarmed. Commodus condemned to death many of the senators and almost all the friends of Marcus Aurelius.

He paid no attention to his duties, but left the government to his prætorian prefect, and squandered the contents of the treasury. The people of Rome were suffering from pestilence, fire, and famine all at once, and grain was no longer distributed. A mob demanded the monster's life, and Commodus was strangled by order of his wife and his officers. His statues were broken by the populace (192 A.D.).

The prætorian guards were left the real masters of Rome. Their prefect announced to them that Commodus had succumbed to a fatal malady; no one dared to speak to them of murder, for they were devoted to Commodus on account of his liberality to them.

Pertinax.—The prefect presented to them an old officer, Pertinax, son of a freedman, a charcoal-burner from the Genoese mountains, who had acquired wealth and a proconsulate. He promised them a present and they proclaimed him emperor.

Pertinax endeavored to govern in harmony with the senate. He put a stop to the prosecutions for high treason and recalled the exiles. He sold the gladiatorial costumes, and the slaves and other objects necessary to Commodus' ideas of luxury, and paid the prætorians the money he had promised them.

He then attempted to restore the prætorians to order. He forbade them to carry arms in the streets of Rome, or to injure or maltreat passers-by. He said to them, "Many disorders have come upon us which, with your help, we intend to overcome."

One day three hundred prætorians armed themselves and, forming a battalion, marched from their camp to the palace. Pertinax addressed them in the hope of calming them, but

one of them struck him with a spear, and the rest quickly put an end to him. He had reigned eighty-seven days (193 A.D.).



COIN OF PERTINAX.

The father-in-law of Pertinax went to the prætorian camp to secure the succession for himself. But Didius Julianus, a very wealthy senator, climbed the wall of the camp and offered a higher gratuity. The empire was, so to speak, put up at auction.

Didius made the highest bid and furthermore promised to restore the memory of Commodus. The soldiers led him down into their camp and proclaimed him emperor. They elected their own prefects and presented them to the new emperor for appointment. Then, forming in military order, they conducted their emperor to the senate (193 A.D.).

Severus.—As after the death of Nero, the soldiers on the frontier refused to submit to the prætorians' selection. The three great armies each proclaimed its own general as emperor: the army in Britain, Albinus; the army in Syria, Pescennius Niger; the army of the Danube, Septimius Severus, a native of Africa.

Severus had the largest army (ten legions) and, traversing two hundred and sixty miles in seven weeks, was the first to arrive in Rome. The prætorians dared not resist him. Didius was now deserted, and was killed by order of the senate.

Severus speedily overcame and killed his other rivals.

Commodus had left a large personal fortune, the accumulation of all the Antonines. This Severus appropriated by declaring himself to have been adopted by Marcus Aurelius.

Severus was a hard worker. He rose at daybreak to begin upon his duties, and later went out to walk, intently discussing affairs of state. He took his seat in the tribunal, but rendered no judgment without consulting his advisers. At noon he rode out on his horse, then, after a bath, sat down to eat his midday meal, usually alone with his children. After this a nap, from which he was awakened to walk with literary men who talked with him in Greek or Latin; then another bath, and supper with his friends. He received guests only on feast-days.

Severus had no love for the senate and left it little power. His great object was to retain the affection of his soldiers; he increased their pay and rations and gave them the right to wear the golden ring, an honor hitherto reserved to the knights. He allowed them to bring their wives to live with them in camp.

There is a story that on his deathbed he said to his two sons, "My children, enrich the soldier, and you may snap your fingers at the rest."

Like Trajan he longed to conquer Asia. He led an expedition against the Parthians, crossed the Tigris, took Ctesiphon and conquered the province of Mesopotamia. He formed three new legions and called them the Parthians.

He led his two sons into Britain to make war on the Scotch mountaineers. Here he died in 211 A.D., after a stay of three years and the completion of a wall similar to that built by Hadrian. His last words were: "I received the state in disorder; I leave it in peace, even in Britain." He then gave the officers the watchword, "Work."

Caracalla.—The two sons of Severus, who were not on friendly terms with one another, were declared joint emperors. Bassianus, the elder, had his brother, Geta, killed, and reigned alone (212 A.D.). He was given the



name of Caracalla ¹ (the *caracalla* was a sort of hooded cloak which he distributed among the inhabitants of Rome).

Under-sized, ugly, and gruff, Caracalla tried to pass for a man of fierce temper. He was fond of comparing himself to Sulla, and even to Hannibal, his compatriot (Severus was an African and had never lost his Carthaginian accent).

A noble told him one day that he had "a constant air of irritation." Caracalla was so pleased that he gave him a large sum of money.

He made fierce war on his brother's friends and servants, all of whom he put to death, and many senators and magistrates as well. The best known of these was the prætorian prefect, Papinian the jurisconsult, whom the soldiers were ordered to assassinate.

The emperor had asked Papinian to deliver a discourse in the senate excusing the murder of his brother Geta, and Papinian replied, "It is easier to commit fratricide than to excuse it."

Caracalla endeavored to please the soldiers before all the rest of his subjects. He permitted them to leave their camps in the winter and quarter themselves on the inhabitants of the frontier towns and there amuse themselves as their fancy dictated. He said to them, "I owe my position to you, and what is mine is yours." To the senators he said, "I must have all the money, that I may give it to the soldiers." During his Syrian campaign he wrote to the senate: "I know that you disapprove of what I am doing, but the arms and the soldiers are with me, and I only laugh at your opinion."

His amusements were driving chariots, playing the gladiator, and drinking to excess. He supplied the deficiencies of his treasury by levying new taxes and debasing the coinage.

His first war was against the Germans (213 A.D.). During this campaign he lived among his soldiers, had them call

¹ His official name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

him "comrade," made his own bread, ate from a wooden bowl, wore a soldier's dress, and carried his own arms and even the standards, for he loved to show his physical strength.

He next directed his attention to Asia, saying that the



CARACALLA.

spirit of Alexander was within him and he must follow in his footsteps.

He went to Alexandria, where the people ridiculed him and made him angry. When the leaders of the city came to greet him he invited them to sit down at his table and then had their throats cut. He turned his soldiers loose in the city, where for several days they pillaged and massacred at will. Caracalla wrote to the senate: "It matters little

what number or what quality of persons perished, their merits were the same."

He attacked the Parthians and led his army beyond the Tigris. Here he was killed by his prætorian prefect (217 A.D.). Macrinus, the murderer, proclaimed himself emperor, made peace with the Parthians and led the army back into Syria.

The Syrian Emperors.—Julia, surnamed Domna (mistress), the mother of Caracalla, was a Syrian. Her sister, Julia Mæsa, had two daughters, Soæmias and Mammæa, both of whom were beautiful and clever. They had acquired a great deal of money and took advantage of the soldiers' attachment to the family of Severus to secure the empire for their children.

Bassianus, the sixteen-year-old son of Soæmias, was a priest of the Sun-god Elagabalus in a Syrian temple. On its return from the Parthian war the army wintered near his temple. The princesses made an agreement with the soldiers whereby they brought to the camp one night chariots laden with gold, and the young priest was proclaimed emperor. Macrinus was overcome, captured, and killed (218 A.D.).

Elagabalus.—The new emperor is commonly known by the name of his god. He was a vain and ignorant lad, whose great delight was to dress himself in women's clothes and paint his face in the Oriental fashion. He took no interest in the government, and employed his power only for amusement.

His grandmother, Julia Mæsa, called the senate together and assumed control of affairs. Rome was horrified at seeing a woman, and a Syrian, preside over the leaders of the empire.

The emperor remained a priest of the Sun-god, and kept the title appertaining to this office (*Sacerdos Dei Solis*). He brought to Rome the black stone which represented the god, built a temple for it and placed the precious object

there himself. He placed in his temple the statues of the Roman gods and all the objects sacred to Rome, even the palladium guarded by the Vestals, which the Romans considered an act of great impiety. He committed another act of impiety by marrying a Vestal.

He clothed himself entirely in silk, hitherto an unheard-of luxury, and never wore a garment a second time. He had his palace walks covered with powdered gold, and his bath perfumed with rose-water; he slept on a bed of flowers. He gave banquets at which the brains of rare birds were served.

He is said to have given a mock naval battle in a lake of wine. On another occasion he almost suffocated his guests by a rain of roses falling from the ceiling.

He was obliged to adopt his cousin, Alexander, son of Julia Mammæa, his junior by four years. He attempted to put an end to Alexander, but the soldiers prevented him and ordered him to ~~alter~~ his conduct and dismiss his riotous companions. They finally revolted, massacred Elagabalus, his mother and his friends, and proclaimed his cousin emperor under the name of Severus (222 A.D.).

Alexander Severus, who was too young to govern, at first left the government to his mother, Mammæa, and a council of senators. Later he adopted Marcus Aurelius as his model and set himself to govern honestly. He had engraved on his palace this maxim: "Do unto others as you would that they should do to you." He wrote in verse a history of the good emperors. He had a sanctuary in his palace to which he went to pray and worship the gods; here he had statues placed of those whom he called the benefactors of the human race: Abraham, Orpheus, Jesus Christ, and Apollo.

His soldiers were discontented and he could not keep them in order. At Rome the prætorians struggled against the people for three days and ended by setting fire to the houses. In another riot the prætorians killed their chief, the famous Ulpian (228 A.D.).

The empire was attacked on the east by the Parthians, and

by the Germans on the Rhine. Alexander hated war, and he went to Mainz to offer presents to the German chiefs as an inducement towards peace. This made the soldiers angry and they assassinated him (235 A.D.).



ALEXANDER SEVERUS

The Jurisconsults.—The most famous of the Roman jurisconsults appeared under the African and Syrian emperors. For a long time there had been men, chiefly nobles, at Rome who devoted themselves to the study of law, and it was a long-standing custom to consult them in doubtful cases. Their answers were authoritative; Augustus gave them the force of law.

The emperor had to decide endless questions of law. He performed the duties of judge in his court. The governors did the same in their provincial courts, but referred doubtful cases to the judgment of the emperor; the emperor replied with a *rescript*, which became obligatory. The emperor also issued *edicts*, or ordinances. In all this work he was assisted by the juriconsults, whom he appointed members of his council. The more celebrated were at the same time prætorian prefects, and empowered to pronounce judgment in the emperor's place. These were Papinian, prefect under Caracalla, and Ulpian, under Alexander Severus, both of them Syrians. There were at the same time other famous juriconsults, all of whom were Orientals; they wrote, however, in Latin, and their works formed the greater part of Roman law.

These juriconsults, imbued with Greek philosophy, labored to lessen the severity of ancient law. The old Romans, who were very hard on the weak, gave the father of the family absolute power over his wife, children, and slaves, the right to kill them, seize their property, or abandon them. The juriconsults upheld very different principles, much like those of the Stoics.

“By the laws of nature all men are born free.” They decided that the slave was entitled to justice, and that his master should be responsible for his life. They deprived the father of the right to disinherit his child.

This new code, later called “written reason,” was adopted by all the Western peoples; a great part of it is still preserved in French law.

Edict of 212 A.D.—A great change now took place. The inhabitants of the empire were divided in two categories, citizens and foreigners. The emperors had little by little given the right of citizenship to many families and even to entire countries, but a large number of provincials were still foreigners, having neither the same rights nor the same burdens as citizens.

In 212 A.D. Caracalla, being in need of money, wiped out this old distinction by declaring all free men in the empire to be Roman citizens. This was merely a means of increasing the taxes, as the new citizens were subject to both the foreigner's and citizen's tax. The measure did succeed, however, in assimilating the legal position of all the inhabitants of the empire. Henceforth there was no difference between Italians and provincials, and all were called Romans.

Military Anarchy.—After the death of Alexander Severus (235 A.D.) the Roman armies struggled against one another, each trying to make its own general emperor. The emperors spent their time opposing rival candidates, and were every one assassinated or executed. This period of confusion is called the military anarchy.

Maximinus, the first of these emperors, was a Thracian shepherd, a man of gigantic height and Herculean strength; he could eat thirty pounds of meat and drink twenty quarts of wine a day, draw a loaded chariot, break stones, and break a horse's teeth with his fist.

The soldiers, after assassinating Alexander, proclaimed as emperor Maximinus, who was at the time an officer. He led them against the Germans and fought in person among the forests and marshes. He then remained with his soldiers on the Danubian frontier.

He condemned a large number of nobles to exile or death, friends of Alexander Severus in particular, and confiscated their goods. To pay his soldiers he melted down the statues of the gods, and appropriated the money from the public shows and distributions. The senate and the inhabitants of Rome detested him, and called him Cyclops, Typhon, and Phalaris. Maximinus was fully aware of their scorn and hatred and kept away from the city, allowing none of the nobles to approach him.

In Africa a troop of rebellious peasants killed the procurator fiscal and, much against his will, proclaimed as

emperor Gordian, the governor of the province, a man of eighty. The senate and the prætorians elected Gordian and his son emperors (238 A.D.), out of hatred for Maximinus. Both were quickly overcome and killed in Africa. But the senate elected two new emperors, a general named Pupienus and a senator named Balbinus. The prætorians added a child, the young Gordian, for a third emperor.

Maximinus marched on Italy with the army of the Danube, leaving a trail of massacre and pillage behind him. Pupienus gathered recruits, sent for the army of the Rhine and waited at Ravenna. Maximinus stopped to besiege Aquileia, but the inhabitants held out bravely against the assault of the semi-barbaric army. Maximinus' soldiers began to run short of provisions, and they put an end to their emperor.

Some time later the prætorians surprised Balbinus and Pupienus in the palace, dragged them through the streets, with shouts of, "Here are the senate's emperors!" and then massacred them (238 A.D.).

Only the child emperor, Gordian, was now left, in whose name his stepfather governed from 238 to 244 A.D. While he was engaged in fighting the Parthians, the army of Syria assassinated him and proclaimed in his place Philip, an Arab, formerly a brigand chief but now an officer in the Roman army (244-248 A.D.).

The army of the Danube revolted, and Philip sent to appease them Decius, who claimed descent from Trajan. The army proclaimed Decius emperor and marched on Italy. Philip was defeated and killed. Decius lost his life two years later in a battle with the barbarians, who had invaded the empire (251 A.D.).

The son of Decius, still a child, became joint emperor with Gallus, the general of the army. Gallus shortly had his colleague killed. Another general, Æmilianus, then put down Gallus and was in his turn slain by his soldiers.

Valerian, an old and wealthy senator, secured the succes-

sion to himself and his son Gallienus, and governed for some years (251–260 A.D.). He was captured by the Parthians.

Gallienus, left alone, thought of nothing but his own amusement. Immediately new emperors were proclaimed by the armies on all sides. Counting their sons there were thirty in all, the so-called “thirty tyrants.” Each was recognized only in a small corner of the empire and for a very few years. The most powerful of them were the emperors of Gaul, especially Postumus, who reigned nearly ten years, and Odenathus, the king of Palmyra and conqueror of the Parthians.

Barbarian Invasions.—As soon as the frontier armies abandoned their duties to fight among themselves, the barbarians began to attack the empire from three sides.

The Parthians took Mesopotamia and advanced as far as the Euphrates.

King Sapor then entered Cappadocia and ravaged the country. The emperor Valerian came to drive him back, but was defeated near Odessa and taken by the Parthians (260 A.D.). He died in captivity.

Sapor is credited with using the captive emperor as a mounting-block. When Valerian died, his skin was dressed and painted red and hung in the audience-chamber of the Parthian king.

The Parthians invaded Syria, surprised the city of Antioch and pillaged it. They also sacked the cities of Cilicia and Cappadocia and led the inhabitants captives.

There is a story that they even filled a ravine with the bodies of captives to facilitate crossing.

There was no longer an emperor in the East. A native prince drove out the invaders. In an oasis in the desert, between Syria and the Euphrates, a great city had been founded, Palmyra, the halting-place for the caravans carrying merchandise from Babylon to Syria. Enriched by commerce, the people of Palmyra had built great monuments (temples, porticoes, tombs), whose ruins are still standing in

the desert, and underground water-conduits for irrigating the land. Palmyra was a dependency of the Roman empire, but preserved its Syriac tongue and its government. Odenathus, the prince of Palmyra, drove out the Parthians and pursued them into their own kingdom, delivering the besieged cities on his way, and pressing his victory as far as



SAPOR'S CAPTURE OF VALERIAN.

Ctesiphon. He remained a subject of the empire, with the title of General of the East.

A change had also taken place among the Germans in the region of the Rhine. The old-established peoples, lovers of peace, had given place to confederations of smaller tribes, who were ever ready for war.

The Alemanni were the first to invade the empire (213 A.D.). Caracalla drove them back, Alexander Severus bought peace of them (235 A.D.), and Maximinus pursued them to their forests (236 A.D.), after which nothing was seen of them for some time.

The Franks were the next to invade the empire. In 241 A.D. a band of them was slaughtered or captured near Mainz.

The Roman soldiers, it is said, danced with joy over their victory and sang: "We have killed a thousand Sarmatians and a thousand Franks. Now we want a thousand Persians."

While the Roman army under Postumus was besieging the army of Gallienus in Cologne, the Franks crossed the Rhine, and ravaged their way through Gaul to Spain. Some of them even sailed over to Africa.

The Alemanni occupied the whole left bank of the Rhine, then invaded Italy from the north, ravaging and destroying a number of cities.

After sixty years of peace on the Danube, the barbarian invasions began. There also appeared a new German people, the Goths, from the country of the Vistula; they settled on the coast of the Black Sea, near the mouth of the Danube.

The Goths crossed the Danube and invaded the empire. They ravaged Mœsia and Thrace, besieged Thessalonica, took Philippopolis, and returned with a hundred thousand captives. The emperor Decius attacked them as they were crossing the Danube, and was himself killed. His successor purchased a peace (251 A.D.).

The empire lost all its possessions north of the Danube.

The Goths fitted out ships with crews of Roman prisoners, and ravaged the coasts of the Roman provinces on the Black Sea, and even the Ægæan archipelago. They pillaged Trebizond, Bithynia, Asia Minor, the islands, and even Greece: Athens, Corinth, Argos.

Thus the interior of the empire, after three centuries of peace, was devastated by bands of plunderers against which the frontier armies were now powerless. The inhabitants of Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Asia built great walls around their cities. Athens restored her fortifications, which had been left untouched since the siege of Sulla.

Illyrian Emperors.—The Illyrian army of the Danube having now become the most important, the emperors were for some time chosen from its numbers. Claudius repulsed the Goths. Aurelian (270–275 A.D.) vanquished the Alemanni, took Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and led her in triumphal procession at Rome, subdued Tetricus, the Gallic pretender, restored order in the empire, and surrounded Rome with a new wall.

Tacitus, Probus, and Carus treated the senate with respect, and a revival of better times seemed to be in store. But the old dual government of emperor and senate had become an impossible anachronism. The tendency of the time was towards absolutism, and the need was for a man of iron will and energy to assert himself and become the responsible organizer of despotism. Such a man was in readiness.

These Illyrian emperors, originally peasants and soldiers, retained their simple habits, like the ancient Roman generals. The following story is told either of Carus or Probus, it is not definitely known which.

Envoys arrived from the king of the Parthians and asked to see the king. They were brought before an old man sitting on the ground wrapped in a shabby cloak, and eating salt pork and peas. This was the emperor, who told them that he was going to make their country as bare as his head, and removed his cap to show them a bald crown. He added: "If you are hungry, help yourselves; if not, begone."

The Empire Reorganized by Diocletian.—Diocletian, son of a slave mother, aided by a comrade named Maximian whom he made his colleague (286 A.D.), completed the restoration of order in the empire.

The peasants in Gaul had rebelled against the tax-collectors, and, organizing themselves into an army, had entrenched themselves near the junction of the Marne and the Seine. Maximian exterminated them (285 A.D.), then repulsed the Alemanni.

Diocletian made war on the Parthians, conquered them, and forced them to make peace and give up Mesopotamia.

To facilitate the process of government, Diocletian transformed the organization of the empire:

I. He did not wish to be sole emperor any longer; he established two chief magistrates with the title of Augustus (Diocletian and Maximian), and under them two with the title of Cæsar; all four were Illyrians. When an Augustus died, one of the Cæsars was to take his place, so that the office of emperor was never vacant. The emperors were no longer elected but chosen by their predecessor, and so were independent of the senate and the army.

II. For the defence of so vast a territory the emperors divided the government: Diocletian established himself in the East, at Nicomedia; subject to his orders, Galerius took charge of Illyria. Maximian went to Milan, in the West, leaving to Constantius Chlorus the government of Gaul, Britain, and Spain.

III. The ancient provinces seemed too large for a single government. Already a number of them had been cut in



CHARIOT OF THE PREFECT OF THE CITY.

two. Diocletian divided the rest, making ninety-six, where there had been fifty-seven. The governors no longer had an army to command.

IV. The affairs of Italy were administered by the prefect of the city, those of Rome by the senate. Diocletian ended

by depriving the senate of its power and Italy of its privileges. The latter divided into provinces and made their taxes the same as the rest of the empire.

V. Diocletian took the title of "lord" (*dominus*), and began to wear a diadem, like the Oriental kings.

When the new government was completely organized, Diocletian, after he had reigned twenty years, abdicated and made Maximian abdicate also. He left the power to the two Cæsars, who succeeded to the title of Augustus and appointed two new Cæsars (305 A.D.). He retired to a country-seat at Salona, on the shore of the Adriatic, and built himself an enormous fortress-like palace, with a hunting-park.¹

The following story is told of Diocletian: After his retirement he became absorbed in the cultivation of vegetables, and on being urged by Maximian, one day, to take the leadership of the empire again, he replied, "If you could see the vegetables I raise in my garden you would not ask me to return to that life of care."

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¹ The city built on the ruins of this palace is called by its name (Spalatro, the palace).

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONSTANTINE AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Worship of Mithra.—During the third century the pagan religions had become blended. The ancient Greek and Roman gods were worshipped in company with the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris, the great goddess of Phrygia, the Baals of Syria, which were confounded with Jupiter, and, in particular, the Persian god Mithra, the invincible sun.

The Sun-god was the chief idol of the soldiers in the third century. Aurelian made him a deity of the whole empire, and built him a magnificent temple at Rome.

Struggle of the Emperors against the Christians.—During the third century the Christians gained steadily in numbers, especially in the East, and not only among the poor, but in all classes.

In the second century the emperor had attempted to crush out the new religion, but the third century witnessed far more violent persecution.

Decius issued an edict in 250 A.D., whereby he commanded the governors to summon all the Christians and compel them to perform the Roman ceremony of offering incense on the altar of a god in honor of the emperor. Those who refused compliance were thrown into prison and tortured with hunger and thirst. The heads of the church Decius condemned to execution, and several of the bishops suffered martyrdom in consequence. A number of Christians obeyed the emperor and renounced their faith, while others paid enormous sums of money in bribes to secure certificates of having complied.

This persecution was brought to an end by the death of Decius in 251 A.D., only to be renewed by Valerian. An edict of 258 A.D. ordered that all bishops, priests, and deacons should be beheaded, the Christian women exiled, and the men sent to labor in chains on the imperial estates. Sixtus, the bishop of Rome, was captured in the Catacombs and executed there, while his deacon, Laurentius, was burned to death.

The Christians were now left undisturbed for nearly forty years. Aurelian died just as he had made up his mind to persecute them. Under Diocletian there were Christians in the army and about the court, and even Christian governors, all of whom practised their religion openly.

Some of the Christians, in Africa particularly, thought it a sin to serve in a pagan army. A centurion named Marcellus threw down his arms, his sword-belt, and staff of command with these words: "I will not serve your emperors; I despise their gods of wood and stone." He was put to death.

Diocletian commanded all the soldiers to sacrifice to the gods, whereupon many Christian soldiers left the army. He finally issued a number of edicts ordering all Christian churches, cemeteries, and books to be destroyed, Christian employees discharged, and the clergy arrested and forced to sacrifice to the gods. The first edict posted was destroyed by a Christian, immediately after which the palace twice narrowly escaped burning. The Christians were accused of setting fire to the palace, and the emperor in his anger beheaded the bishop of Nicomedia.

All Christians were now summoned to sacrifice to the gods. If any refused, they were tortured to make them offer incense or pour a libation. Some died, but many yielded.

Finally, in 304 A.D., an edict ordered all Christians to come to the sacrifices, with the alternative of death.

Constantius, the Cæsar in the West, was friendly to the Christians and neglected to enforce the edicts. But in the

east Galerius, first as Cæsar and later as Augustus, was the most vigorous enemy the church had to face. In Palestine alone nine bishops and eighty other Christians were put to death. Many voluntary martyrs offered themselves, but they were not all killed, some being sent to work in the mines, often with an eye dug out or a sinew of the foot seared.

At length Galerius, feeling the approach of death, gave up the struggle and in 311 A.D. published an edict of toleration. "For the common welfare of our subjects and the preservation of the empire we have decided," he said, "to restore the discipline of our ancestors. We hoped to lead back to better sentiments the Christians who have had the temerity to oppose themselves to established practices." But, as they "persisted in their folly," he granted them permission to celebrate their religion and hold their meetings, asking them in return to intercede with their God in behalf of the emperor.

This was the end of the last great period of persecution.

Constantius.—When Diocletian abdicated, he had left the power to two Augusti, Galerius in the East and Constantius in the West, aided by two Cæsars, Severus in Italy and Maximinus Daza in the East. All four were Illyrians and formerly officers in the army. But this system, organized by Diocletian, did not endure.

Constantius (surnamed *Chlorus*, the yellow, on account of his complexion) soon found himself afflicted with a fatal disease. His son Constantine joined his father at Boulogne and accompanied him to Britain. Constantius died at Eboracum (York) in 306 A.D., and his soldiers proclaimed Constantine Augustus in spite of the rule established by Diocletian. Rather than risk a war, Galerius agreed to recognize Constantine as emperor, but with the inferior title of Cæsar. Severus was accordingly promoted from Cæsar to Augustus. •

All Rome, people, senate, and prætorians, were discontented with having no resident emperor. When Galerius

sent orders to have a new valuation of property made, the people rebelled and killed the prefect of the city. The



CONSTANTINE.

prætorians proclaimed a new emperor, Maximian, formerly Augustus with Diocletian, who issued from retirement to become emperor once more (306 A.D.).

Now began the wars between the emperors, of which there were five in sixteen years.

I. Severus entered Italy to attack Maxentius and Maximian. Abandoned by his army, he surrendered himself and was taken to Rome and put to death.

Galerius appointed in his place Licinius, an Illyrian, the son of a peasant, and gave him the title of Augustus. The other emperors were no longer content with the title of Cæsar and called themselves Augustus also, making in all *six Augusti*, Galerius, Licinius, Constantine, Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, and Maximian (307 A.D.).

Maximian was forced to abdicate, and died soon after.

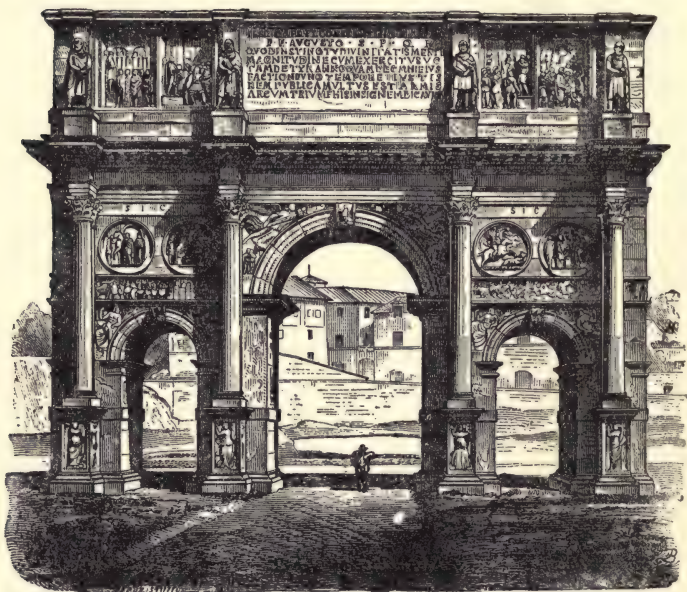
While Constantine was making war in the neighborhood of the Rhine and driving the Franks out of Gaul, Maxentius in Rome made himself unpopular with the people by quarrelling with Constantine. Constantine crossed the Alps with his army, descended into Italy and arrived before Rome. Maxentius led his army across the Tiber on a bridge of boats beside the Milvian bridge, and a battle was fought in the plain on the right bank of the Tiber. The army of Maxentius broke ranks, and the prætorians were fighting alone when they were routed by a charge of Gallic cavalry and fled towards the Milvian bridge. The bridge gave way and Maxentius was drowned (312 A.D.).

Constantine entered Rome in triumph, dismissed the prætorians, demolished the fortifications around their camp, and executed all friends of Maxentius. He promised to consult the senate, and instituted public games to celebrate his victory. The senate decided to erect a triumphal arch in his honor. He went to Milan to see his colleague Licinius, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

Licinius had allied himself with Constantine against Maximinus Daza, the other eastern emperor and the ally of Maxentius. Daza protected the priests and magicians and persecuted the Christians. He entered Europe with an army and marched against Licinius. He was defeated at

Adrianople; he fled and was killed (313 A.D.). His wife, son, and daughter were massacred; then the son of Galerius, the son of Severus, and the wife and daughter of Diocletian. Only two emperors now remained, Constantine in the west and Licinius in the east (313 A.D.).

Trouble soon arose between these two. Crossing the



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

Alps, Constantine defeated Licinius in two battles and forced him to give up all his European provinces (314 A.D.).

After some years of peace Constantine again led his army eastward. Licinius, defeated at Adrianople and then in Asia (323 A.D.), surrendered himself to Constantine. His victorious rival promised to spare his life, but sent him to Thessalonica and had him put to death. Constantine now reigned alone over the empire (324 A.D.).

The Edict of Milan.—Constantine's mother, Helena, was a Christian. He himself, like his father, willingly granted

toleration to Christianity without being a Christian. His enemies, Maxentius and Daza, were supported by the adherents of the ancient Roman religion, while he, on his part, was supported by the Christians.

Eusebius, the Christian historian, tells the following story of Constantine:

The night before the battle of the Milvian bridge, in which Maxentius lost his life, Constantine saw in the sky, over the setting sun, a shining cross with the inscription, "By this sign thou shalt conquer." In the night Christ appeared to him, showed him the same sign and ordered him to place it on his standard. In gratitude for his victory, Constantine obeyed Christ, to whom he owed it; he had a standard made in the form of a cross with the initial letters of the name of Christ.

According to another Christian writer Constantine, in obedience to a dream, had the sacred monogram placed on every soldier's shield.

It is an actual fact that later Constantine wore a cross on his helmet and that his army had a standard, known as the *labarum*, formed by a straight pike intersected by a transverse beam. This beam was draped with a purple veil embroidered in gold, to represent the image of the emperor. The whole was surmounted by a golden crown encircling the initial letter of the name of Christ. The soldiers regarded this standard as possessed of miraculous power to keep them from injury.

Constantine was not content with tolerating the Christian religion. By the Edict of Milan (313 A.D.) he and Licinius declared it equal with the ancient religion: "Let every man embrace the religion which pleases him, and celebrate its rites freely. In divine things none should be forbidden to follow the way that seems to him best." The property taken from the Christian Church during the period



THE LABARUM.

of persecution was restored. Religious liberty was established.

In the succeeding years Constantine adopted various measures in favor of the churches. He closed the courts on Sunday, which was kept holy by the Christians as the day of Christ's resurrection and by the sun-worshippers as the day of the sun.

The Christians being supporters of Constantine, Licinius, in the east, became their enemy. He forbade the bishops to meet, closed the churches, discharged Christian employees from their places, and even imprisoned some of their number. After his victory Constantine extended to the east the privileges enjoyed by the Christians in the west. Christianity became the established religion of the empire.

The Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.).—For some years the Christian Church had been troubled by doubts as to the nature of Christ. Arius, a priest of Alexandria, had put forth the doctrine that God the Son, having been created by the will of God the Father, was His inferior. An assembly of Egyptian bishops declared him a heretic and excommunicated him, but other bishops in the east supported him and the dispute took very active form.

Constantine did not understand exactly what the trouble was about, but he was anxious to maintain peace. He wrote therefore to the clergy of Alexandria: "I desire to reduce to a single formula the opinion of all the peoples concerning the divinity, as agreement on this point would greatly facilitate public administration. Is it right that you should battle about vain words, brother against brother?" This letter did not check the dispute.

Constantine then summoned all the bishops to determine true Christian doctrine and to restore order in the church. This resulted in the Council of Nicæa, the first Ecumenical Council (that is to say, of the world).

Here assembled three hundred and eighteen bishops, principally Greeks, accompanied by priests, deacons, and

attendants. Constantine had given them permission to make use of the imperial post service and to have supplies furnished them like officials of the state.

They met in the great hall of the palace of Nicæa; Constantine entered in ceremonial robes, and seated himself on a throne of gold. The bishop at his right rose and addressed him. Constantine thanked him, declaring himself happy to see the representatives of the church around him, and urged them earnestly to maintain peace as befitted servants of God. He then left the bishops to their discussion.

The council condemned the Arian doctrine by a large majority and adopted the confession of faith proposed by the bishop of Corduba (Cordova in Spain), a friend of the emperor, and Athanasius, a young priest of Alexandria. This was the Nicene Creed. In it the Son is declared to be of the same substance with the Father (*ὁμοούσιος*).

Constantine treated the decisions of the council as binding upon all Christians. He exiled Arius and his followers and burned their books.

Organization of the Church.—The Christian religion, thus recognized by the emperor, had become the religion of the majority of his subjects, especially in the east. The bishops proceeded to organize the church.

They organized it on the model of the empire in the form which it has always preserved. In each municipality there was a bishop who resided in the city and ruled over the faithful within his territory, called the diocese; he was appointed for life and consecrated by the other bishops of his province in the presence of the clergy and people of the community, that is to say, the priests and assembly of believers who approved the election. The number of bishops was the same as the number of municipalities. This is why there are many bishops in the east and in Italy, where the cities were then very numerous, and the dioceses small, while in France, where, except in the south, cities were rare, the bishops are few and the dioceses large.

Each province became an ecclesiastical province; the bishop of the capital of the province (metropolis) was called the metropolitan (later archbishop), and was superior to the other bishops.¹

Over all was the bishop of Rome, the Pope, successor to Saint Peter.²

The bishops met together to settle the affairs of the church. Their assemblies (in Latin, councils; in Greek, synods) were made up of the bishops of a single province or of a whole country. The assembly of all the bishops of the world was called the *Ecumenical Council*.

The council decided what the Christians might do and what they should believe. When a doctrine appeared contrary to the faith of the church, the council condemned it and branded it a heresy (individual opinion), declaring excommunicated any person who should continue to profess it. The doctrine of the church was called orthodoxy, the true belief. The only Christians recognized by the church were the orthodox. Heretics were excluded from the fold.

The churches began to acquire property. They no longer possessed only their cemeteries and meeting-places, but many had domains; Constantine allowed them to inherit money and lands, and even made them gifts himself. The clergy administered this property, and used the greater part of its income to defray the expenses of the church and distribute alms to the poor, sick, and widowed.

¹ The bishops of the principal cities of the empire, Milan, Trèves, Carthage, and especially Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem (where they were later called *patriarchs*), were often considered superior to the other metropolitans.

[² The title "pope" was not yet definitely applied to the bishop of Rome. Nor was his headship over even the Western church recognized as a settled thing in the fourth century. A certain spiritual primacy was claimed and conceded, but hardly more than this. It was necessary that Rome's political importance should pass away before her chief ecclesiastic could emerge from the shadow of the temporal power, and appear as the chief man in Rome. This was not to be until the fifth century.]

Their services were held in basilicas, great halls adorned with columns and originally designed as court-rooms. The bishop and priests stood at the end of the hall, near the communion-table. The worshippers occupied the nave of the basilica, men on one side, women on the other. The catechumens, those who were not yet admitted to the communion, took part in only a portion of the service, the sermon, and were dismissed before the Eucharist. The penitents, those who had sinned and were not yet pardoned, stood about the door. Outside was the baptistery, with the pool in which the catechumens were baptized.

Founding of Constantinople.—In 326 A.D. Constantine took part in the review of the knights at Rome; the knights, in accordance with the ancient pagan custom, went up to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, but the emperor did not follow them. The people of Rome, who were still pagans, murmured against this.

Constantine now made up his mind to establish a new capital to take the place of Rome.¹ He fixed his choice on Byzantium, an ancient city on the Bosphorus, the strait connecting the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. It occupied an exceptional position on a promontory easily defended from the land side, separated from Asia only by a narrow channel, and enjoying a beautiful climate in a region covered with vineyards, orchards, and rich harvests. The harbor, the Golden Horn, was deep and wide, one of the finest in the world; while capable of holding twelve hundred ships, it could be closed against an enemy with a chain eight hundred feet in length. On the site of Byzan-

[¹ It would be wrong to think that Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome simply out of pique against the Roman populace. There were far deeper reasons than this. It is true that he may have deemed it wise, at a time when all the old institutions were giving way before the methods of Oriental despotism, to remove the seat of government away from the old scenes and associations of republican times; but geographical reasons also prompted such a change. Constantinople was far nearer the centre of population than Rome.]

tium Constantine built his new city and called it by his name, Constantinople. He surrounded it by a wall fifteen miles in circumference, and built a palace, a circus, aqueducts, baths, two squares surrounded by porticoes, temples, and the Christian Church of the Holy Apostles. New military quarters were also constructed.

Constantine brought famous statues from Greece and Rome for the adornment of his city: a Pallas, the Zeus of Dodona, the Muses from Helicon, and the Delphic tripod.

To make up a population Constantinople had the inhabitants of neighboring cities brought thither by force. He established there, as at Rome, distributions of grain, wine, and oil, and numerous public shows. He created a senate¹ like that at Rome. He distributed estates and palaces to nobles who settled there, and obliged the landed proprietors of neighboring provinces to have a house at Constantinople.

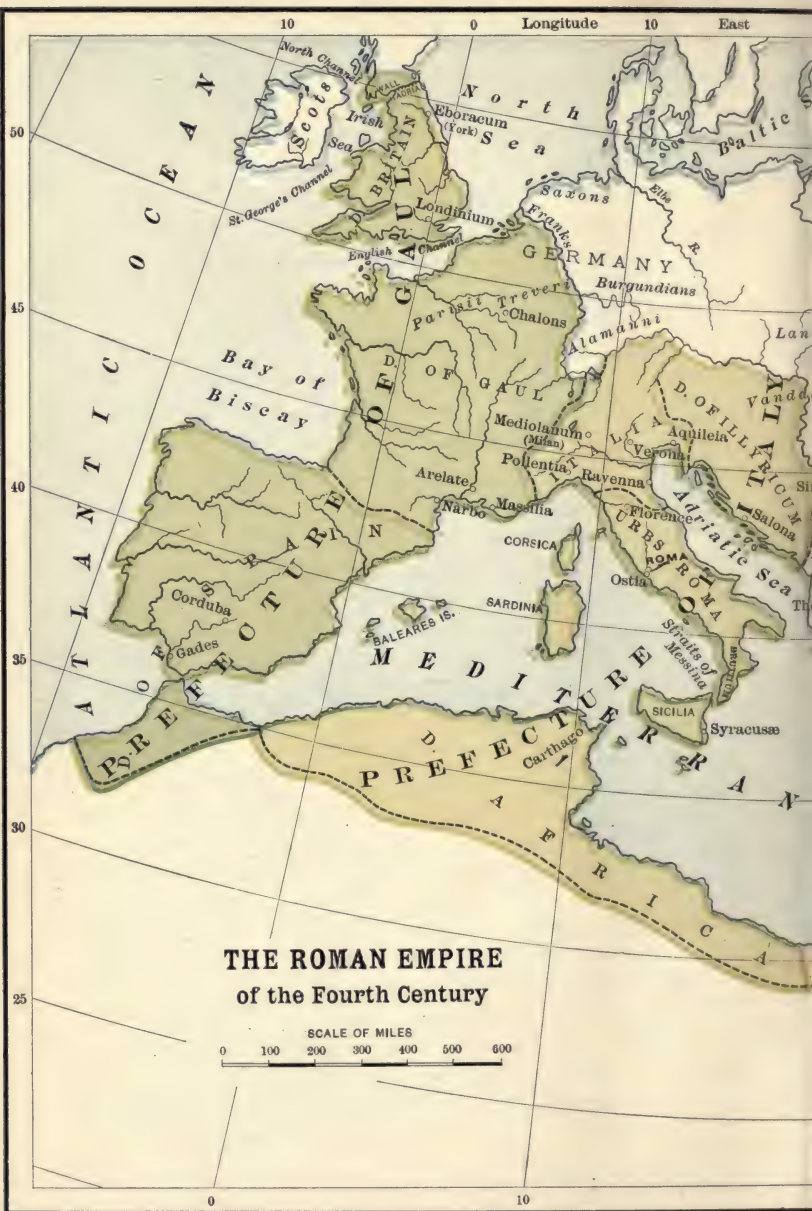
The work was begun in 326 A.D., and in less than four years (330 A.D.) the inauguration took place.

End of the Reign of Constantine.—Constantine was sole ruler of the empire for thirteen years. Crispus, his son by his first wife, was accused of conspiring against him, and he had him put to death together with a number of his friends (326 A.D.). He also executed Licinianus, a boy of twelve, the son of his sister and the emperor Licinius. His second wife, Fausta, and his mother, Helena, were bitter enemies up to the time of Fausta's death.

It is said that Constantine took his mother's part and had his wife placed in an overheated bath, in which she was suffocated.

[¹ At this time the Roman senate had sunk almost to the level of a mere city council. The new senate at Constantinople was even below it in dignity, as it did not draw its members from a long-established ruling class, nor for a long time after its foundation take any share in imperial affairs.

It became the rule that one of the two consuls should be appointed at Constantinople, the other at Rome. The chief importance of the consuls under the later empire was that the years were still named after them, as under the republic.]



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
of the Fourth Century

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600



Constantine had not entirely deserted the ancient religion. He retained the title of Pontifex Maximus and the pagan inscriptions on the coins (*"To the Spirit of the Emperor, To the God Mars"*). The foundation ceremony of Constantinople was placed on a day when the sun entered the constellation of Sagittarius (November 4, 326 A.D.), and an astrologer watched the sky to see if the hour was favorable. A column of porphyry was erected in the new city, bearing a bronze Apollo; under the column was buried a reproduction of the Palladium, the protecting idol of Rome. A statue of Fortune was placed in the senate-house. The majority of government officials and soldiers still worshipped the ancient gods or the Sun-god; the soldiers recited a prayer to the divinity for the welfare of the emperor and empire.



COIN OF CONSTANTINE.

Constantine, however, was inclining more and more towards Christianity. He built several Christian churches; he destroyed the Mount of Calvary on which Christ was said to have been crucified at Jerusalem; he built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre near the spot where Christ's body was entombed,¹ and the Church of the Nativity on the site of His birthplace. His mother, Helena, went herself to see his work, and by so doing gave rise to the tradition of the Discovery of the Holy Cross.

[¹ The correctness of the identification of many of these scenes of sacred history is disputed by archæologists. There is every reason to doubt that the locations of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre are where tradition places them. Both are within the walls of the ancient city, which would have been impossible for places either of execution or of burial.]

The story goes that the empress Helena had come to Jerusalem in search of the true cross, on which Christ was crucified. The bishop of Jerusalem was ignorant of its whereabouts. Calvary was searched, houses torn down and the ground dug up, until finally, under a temple of Venus, a grotto was discovered containing three crosses. that of Christ and those of the two thieves who were crucified with him.

In order to determine which was the cross of Christ, the bishop brought a dying woman to pray there with the empress, asking God to grant a miracle. The woman, after touching the true cross, arose healed.

Constantine died in 337 A.D. During his last illness he was baptized, and was buried in the Christian church of Constantinople.

New Organization of the Empire.—The new organization of the empire which Diocletian had instituted continued through the reign of Constantine and was completed under his successors.

The former emperors, living in Rome or with the army, had maintained the simple life of Roman magistrates and generals. The emperors in the east (from Diocletian onward) adopted the habits of Oriental kings. Instead of being content with the toga, the badge of citizenship, they wore the diadem, a pearl-studded crown, the emblem of royalty, and magnificent flowing robes of silk and gold. Instead of appearing about the city, they shut themselves up in the palace, allowing themselves to be seen only on feast-days, seated on a golden throne, surrounded by a host of attendants, armed guards, and courtiers. Instead of receiving friends and eating with them familiarly, they held aloof from the rest of mankind as if they were gods. A man admitted to the emperor's presence bowed his head to the floor in token of adoration. The emperor was called *Master*, *Majesty*; and the citizens became the subjects (in Greek, slaves) of the emperor. The emperor was divine and everything belonging to him "sacred": the "sacred palace," "sacred chamber," "sacred council," "sacred treasury." The emperor's palace became like the court of

the king of Persia. This was the system known as the Lower Empire.

The emperor was surrounded by a complete court: several companies of body-guards, both foot and horse, a small army to guard his palace, a troop of chamberlains to wait on him, a troop of officials to attend to his affairs, a council of state to aid in the government, ushers, pages, and a large staff of secretaries divided into four bureaus.

The emperor did not hold direct communication with all of these. He gave his orders to the ministers, each of whom controlled a special branch of the imperial service. The principal of these functionaries were (at a somewhat later date when the system was fully developed):

1. The master of soldiery in the presence;
2. The provost of the sacred bedchamber;
3. The master of the offices, controlling
 - a. The bureau of memorials, under a master;
 - b. The bureau of correspondence, under a master;
 - c. The bureau of requests, under a master;
 - d. The bureau of Greek versions, under a master;
 also the arsenals and the secret police;
4. The quæstor, whose duty it was to put all official documents in legal form;
5. The count of the sacred bounties, or secretary of the treasury;
6. The count of the private domains.

In the times when there were two emperors, as under Arcadius and Honorius, this staff was duplicated, one court being fully constituted at Constantinople, the other at Rome (or Milan).

The empire was divided into one hundred and seventeen provinces, each with its governor, known as a consular, or a corrector.¹ Several provinces were united in one diocese under a vicar (for instance, Gaul, Spain, and Britain).

[¹ Only three governors bore the ancient title of proconsul—those of Asia, Achaia, and Africa.]

Finally, several dioceses were again united under one prætorian prefect, of whom there were four¹ for the whole empire. None of these officials had now any power over the soldiers.

The armies were divided in smaller legions than formerly and commanded by counts and dukes,² who were established in the frontier provinces. The two chief in command were the master of the horse and the master of the foot-soldiers.

All these functionaries and officers were divided in various categories denoting their degree of dignity; each, according to his rank, received a hereditary title from the emperor. These were the several degrees of nobility, beginning with the highest:

The *nobilissimi* (most noble), princes of the imperial family;

The *illustres* (illustrious), the chiefs of the imperial service, prætorian prefects, and masters of the soldiers;

The *spectabiles* (worshipful), vicars, counts, and dukes;

The *clarissime* (right honorable), also called senators, the governors;

The *perfectissimi* (honorable), the lowest grade of governors;

The *egregii* (esquires), who corresponded very nearly to the former knights.

Every person of importance had thus his office, his title, and his rank.

A larger amount of money was now necessary to maintain this staff of courtiers and employees.³ The empire was impoverished by wars and invasions, and the taxes had to be increased. The principal new taxes were: the tax on land,

[¹ Of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, of the Gauls.]

[² The count was higher than the duke, contrary to the precedence among modern nobles.]

[³ The count of the sacred bounties had a staff of 224 officials and 610 supernumeraries; the proconsul of Africa had 400 officials. These were all highly paid, the slaves not being included in this number.]

for which a new valuation was made every fifteen years (*indiction*); the poll-tax; also the taxes on industry and commerce, payable every five years.

Collection of the taxes became more difficult every year. In each municipality the council (*curia*) had charge of the work, and its members, the *curiales*, were responsible for the money, being obliged to make good any deficit. The office of curialis (town councillor), hitherto sought as an honor, came to be considered in the fourth century a ruinous charge, which was to be avoided if possible. The emperors passed laws to enforce the acceptance of the office, and every landed proprietor, whether he wished it or not, was obliged to become a member of the curia. Many preferred to renounce their lands, and fled the country to become employees, soldiers, or priests. The emperors ordered them to be found and brought back by force. This struggle between the emperor and the curiales lasted for over a century and a half.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

THE DOWNFALL OF PAGANISM.

* **The Growth of Monarchy.**—The last stage in the development of absolutism had thus been reached. It is possible to discriminate with some degree of exactness the stages in this process.

Under Augustus, the real organizer of the empire (for Julius did not live long enough to carry out his schemes) the system was one of dual control. The imperator (our modern word emperor carries with it altogether too much of the royal idea) posed simply as first citizen, and professed to divide the sovereignty with the senate. This system has received the name dyarchy.

In the second century there was a more frank expression of the fact that the imperator was the real head of the government. But the senate was still allowed a certain degree of power. The period of the Antonines may be called one of limited monarchy.

With Septimius Severus, at the opening of the third century, the senate is still more disregarded, and the foundations of absolute monarchy are laid. But this monarchy is still Roman, and the imperator is a Roman soldier.

Diocletian and Constantine transmute the absolute monarchy into Oriental despotism.

The Imperial Succession.—There had never been any fixed method of providing a successor on the death of an emperor. There was a theory that it was the right of the senate to nominate, and of the Roman people to ratify the

nomination of, each emperor. But this proceeding was a mere form. Some of the best emperors, as the Antonines, had secured the succession to a worthy follower by adopting and associating with themselves the men whom they thought fit for the weighty office. Diocletian thought he had found a remedy for confusion and scandal in his system of associate Augusti and Cæsars, of whom the two Augusti were to abdicate, as he himself did, after twenty years, and the two Cæsars to take their places; these in turn naming two new Cæsars.

But we have seen how this worked at the close of Diocletian's career. It was too artificial to be practical. And now Constantine, with all his political genius, was unable to devise a scheme of succession which should be satisfactory. This lack of system was one of the greatest weaknesses of the empire.

The Sons of Constantine.—Constantine left three sons: Constantine II., to whom were given the Gauls and north-western Africa; Constantius took the east, and Constans the lands lying between these, viz., Italy, Illyria, and the remainder of Africa. Each of these was entitled Augustus. Two nephews of the great emperor were also given smaller shares in the government. The inevitable result followed. Bitter quarrels broke out, and of the three brothers Constantius alone was left after 350 A.D.

Constantius took a conspicuous part in the religious movements of his time. He began to persecute the pagans, particularly in the west, but was unable to enforce his prohibitions of the old worship. He also took the opposite course from his father with regard to the divisions among the Christians, for while Constantine had favored the orthodox party, the son took the side of the Arians. Bishops who had been banished were now restored, and the orthodox leaders were forced into exile. The contentions were so bitter that Ammianus Marcellinus, the great pagan historian of the time, writes: "There are no wild beasts so

hostile to man as most of these Christians are to one another."

Julian the Apostate.—Constantius left but one relative, his nephew Julian, who had escaped from the general slaughter of his family in 338 A.D. because he was but six years of age at the time. He had been brought up as a semi-prisoner in Cappadocia, where his training had been



JULIAN.

of the severely Christian kind. Religious exercises, pilgrimages, and the like, filled his days. Later he was allowed to study Greek philosophy at Nicomedia. He became enamored of its teachings and secretly abjured Christianity.

While Constantius was living Julian distinguished himself by conquering the Alemanni who had invaded Gaul. He made his headquarters at Lutetia, the modern Paris, where, in the Hôtel de

Cluny, a museum contains many relics of him and his time.

At the death of Constantius in 361 A.D., Julian succeeded him, by wish of his army. He at once devoted himself to destroying Christianity and reëstablishing the ancient religion. He restored the sacrifices, reinstated the priests of the ancient gods in the enjoyment of their honors and domains, and ordered the Christians to restore the temples which had been converted into churches and to rebuild those that had been destroyed.

He deprived the Christian clergy of their privileges. He forbade Christians to teach philosophy or literature, and

thus compelled Christian teachers to resign from the schools. Julian was not willing that books containing allusions to the gods should be explained by men who did not believe in those gods. "It is not right," he said, "to pierce us with our own arrows and fight us with our own books."

He wrote a treatise against the Christians.

He recommended that no offices should be given to Christians, but he did not discharge Christians already in office.

He gave orders to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem. But the workmen were frightened by seeing flames spring from the ground, and the work was stopped.

Julian attempted to organize the ancient religion on the model of Christianity. He ordered the priests to read religious books (Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics), to hold family worship every day, to avoid the theatre and the public-house, and to wear a purple robe when preaching to the people. He advocated the introduction of music and singing into the ceremonies.

All these endeavors came to nothing because Julian had not time to carry them through. Like Alexander, he led an army against the Parthians, defeated them, and crossed the Tigris, but in a succeeding battle was mortally wounded by an arrow. Before his death he called for his two philosophers and talked with them concerning the immortality of the soul (363 A.D.).

Later it was reported that when the arrow struck him, he cried (addressing Christ), "Thou hast conquered, Galilean!"

Jovian, the commander of the guards, was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. He made peace with the Parthians by restoring the territory Diocletian had won from them, and was leading his army homeward when he died, in Asia.

Valentinian and Valens.—The army chose for his successor Valentinian, an Illyrian officer who spoke Latin and had a slight knowledge of Greek (364 A.D.). For the sake

of a second *donativum* the soldiers insisted on having another emperor, and Valentinian secured the appointment for his brother Valens. Valentinian left Valens at Constantinople and established himself in the west, at Milan.

Valentinian was essentially a warrior, brave, harsh, and violent. He has been credited with more or less ferocity.

He had a servant beaten to death for being too quick in releasing a dog on his game. A workman bent a cuirass slightly in engraving it; the emperor had him executed. He had a driver burned alive for an unguarded speech. An office-holder requested a change. "He wants to be removed," was the emperor's answer; "remove his head." Near his chamber he kept two fierce bears to which he caused condemned persons to be thrown. He had a young noble executed for having copied out a collection of formulas in magic.

He increased the taxes and adopted severe measures to enforce their collection. In each of a number of cities which had fallen short of the required subscription he ordered the execution of three curiales. The prætorian prefect asked him: "What shall we do in cities where there are not as many as three curiales? Shall we wait until there are three?" The answer was "Yes."

Valentinian was a Christian. He restored the privileges of the Catholic churches, but allowed freedom in the practice of all creeds, even the ceremonies of the Greek mysteries.

The barbarians that invaded the empire along the Danube, in Britain, and on the Rhine were all repulsed. Valentinian spent almost his whole reign in Gaul directing the war against the Alemanni; he drove them back across the Rhine and reestablished the old boundary. He died in an expedition to the Danube (375 A.D.).

His elder son, Gratian, a boy of sixteen, succeeded him as emperor of the west; the younger, Valentinian II., aged four, was also proclaimed Augustus.

Valens was meantime making himself hated in the east because of his cruelty. He had a great fear of magic, and

ordered all books on the subject to be collected and burned, together with the persons in whose possession they were found.

He too was a Christian, but an Arian, and he persecuted the orthodox Catholics.

Valens was not a soldier and knew nothing of defending the empire, neither could he keep an army in condition. The frontier provinces were ravaged by plundering bands and the Roman soldiers refused to come out of their comfortable fortresses to fight them.

Invasion of the Visigoths.—The Goths, a German people occupying the plains north of the Danube, were attacked by the Huns, an Asiatic people, yellow, short, thickset, and beardless, with small shifting eyes, who were always on their horses' backs, and lived on roots and raw flesh which they allowed to mortify hanging at their saddles. They fought with the spear, bow, and lasso, charging with wild cries, then wheeling about to charge again.

The Goths were unable to resist them. A portion of the nation, the Visigoths (western Goths), decided to emigrate. One of their chiefs, Fritigern, who was a Christian, sent the bishop of the Goths, to ask the emperor to establish his people in the empire. Valens assented. The Goths were to surrender their arms and give their children as hostages; the emperor, on his part, agreed to furnish them with provisions (375 A.D.).

The Visigoths, numbering in all three hundred thousand, crossed the Danube and were established in the plain. The Roman agents, however, did not furnish them the promised supplies, and they were obliged to sell their slaves and even their wives and children to save themselves from starvation (376 A.D.).

Some of them had kept their arms and now began to pillage the country. Valens and Gratian sent troops against them. But the Visigoths were reënforced by other Gothic tribes, the Ostrogoths or eastern Goths, and barbarian

peasants and miners. They made a fort of their chariots, and attacked the Roman camp near the mouth of the Danube in an indecisive battle (377 A.D.).

The Visigoth army, increased by barbarian warriors from the other side of the Danube, crossed the Balkans, and laid waste the whole country as far as Constantinople. Gratian, attacked at the same time by the Alemanni on the Rhine, had recalled his troops. He vanquished the Alemanni and drove them back into the mountains beyond the Rhine, then sent word to Valens that he was coming to his assistance. Valens was at Constantinople with his army, and his generals begged him to wait; but he was anxious to avoid sharing the glory, and gave orders to march against the Visigoths (378 A.D.).

The Romans, hungry and thirsty and wearied with marching in the dust and heat, arrived in disorder before the enemy's camp. Out came the Gothic horsemen, charged on the Romans and routed them completely. Valens was wounded by an arrow and carried into a hut, where his companions tried unsuccessfully to defend him. The barbarians set fire to the hut and the emperor perished, in all probability burned to death.

The next day the Goths attempted to take Adrianople, failing in which they spread out over all the Illyrian provinces and laid them waste.

✓ **Theodosius.**—Gratian, feeling himself too young to undertake the defence of the empire alone, fixed his choice on a young Spanish general of twenty-three, Theodosius, and, summoning him from Spain, proclaimed him Augustus and entrusted him with the government of Illyria and the east (379 A.D.).

Theodosius went to Thessalonica and proceeded to reorganize the army and restore it to discipline; he became popular with his men by treating them politely and sharing their exertions and fatigue. When the army was ready he opened his campaign against the Goths. His object was

not to destroy them, but rather to induce them to surrender. He received their king, made him presents and treated him as a friend.

Finally, after a fresh invasion of barbarians in 381 A.D., he effected a peace. He ceded to the Visigoths the provinces south of the Danube, and there they settled with their own chiefs as allies (*fœderati*), not subjects, of the empire. They engaged to fight for the emperor for a wage, and collars and bracelets of gold; Theodosius enrolled forty thousand of them in the Roman army under these conditions.

Gratian was not liked in the west. He was reproached with being too fond of hunting, of associating with barbarians and dressing like them, of neglecting his army, and allowing his courtiers to

sell offices and judgments. The army in Britain revolted and proclaimed emperor its general Maximus, a Spaniard. Maximus crossed to Gaul, and a battle was fought near Paris. Gratian was abandoned by his soldiers and took to flight, but was overtaken and killed near Lyons (383 A.D.).

Theodosius recognized Maximus as emperor. Young Valentinian II. at Milan retained Italy and Africa.

Maximus invaded Italy with an army of German barbarians (387 A.D.). Valentinian fled to Theodosius, who promised him assistance and took his sister in marriage.



THEODOSIUS.

With an army composed mainly of Gothic barbarians Theodosius marched on Italy, defeated Maximus and had him beheaded.

Theodosius remained in Italy three years, during which period occurred the famous incident of his penance. Theodosius had placed Gothic officers and soldiers in his eastern garrisons, and these Goths now formed the most solid portion of the Roman army. The inhabitants of the large cities were constantly quarrelling with these barbarians, and Theodosius ordinarily took the part of his soldiers. In 390 A.D. there was such a violent outbreak in Thessalonica that a number of Gothic officers lost their lives. In a passion of rage Theodosius ordered the population of Thessalonica exterminated. Accordingly, one day when the inhabitants were assembled in the circus for the games, the Gothic soldiers surrounded the building and in three hours killed every man, woman, and child.

Theodosius was in Milan when the news of the massacre reached Italy. When he next entered the church he was stopped at the door by Ambrose, who forbade him to enter because, by shedding innocent blood, he had made himself unworthy to enter the sanctuary. Theodosius, shut out from communion with the faithful, accepted the bishop's sentence. For eight months he did not enter a church, until, having done penance for his crime, he returned for the Christmas festival.

For the first time an emperor had recognized a power superior to his own, that of the Christian clergy.

The Franks had just invaded Gaul. Theodosius sent Valentinian II. against them with a Frankish barbarian named Arbogast for his general. Arbogast drove the Franks across the Rhine and governed in Valentinian's name, the latter being too young and inexperienced to fulfil his duties. Valentinian was jealous and, having made up his mind to be rid of him, sent him a letter of dismissal. Arbogast threw the letter down, saying that power entrusted by

Theodosius could not be revoked by any one else. Valentinian seized a sword and rushed at Arbogast. They were separated, and some time later Valentinian was found hanging to a tree (392 A.D.).

Arbogast, not being a Roman, could not proclaim himself emperor, so chose Eugenius, a former rhetorician. He was anxious to remain on peaceful terms with Theodosius, but Theodosius refused to recognize him, and he and Arbogast speedily were defeated and put to death.

Theodosius reigned alone for one year, then died, at the age of fifty (395 A.D.).

Official Suppression of Paganism.—Since the time of Constantine Christianity had been spreading in the empire. The ancient gods were worshipped only by the inhabitants of Rome, the soldiers, and the country people. These began to be called pagans (*paganus*, a peasant).

The early Christian emperors left the pagans free to practise their religion, and even preserved the title of pontifex maximus, until Gratian refused to bear the title or wear the robe. He declined to support any religion but Christianity. He removed from the senate chamber at Rome the statue and altar of Victory to which sacrifices were made.

Theodosius did more. He forbade the offering of sacrifices to the gods, then ordered the prætorian prefect to close the temples and suppress paganism throughout the east. The soldiers, aided by the monks, proceeded to demolish the temples, overturn the altars, and break or mutilate the idols (394–396 A.D.). Marcellus, a bishop of Syria, with a band of soldiers went through the country destroying pagan sanctuaries; he was killed by the peasants and venerated as a martyr.

In 391 A.D. Theodosius forbade any subject of the empire to enter the temple of a heathen god. In 392 A.D. he made the worship of idols punishable with death. The Serapeum at Alexandria, the tomb of the sacred bulls of Apis, was closed. The stone coffin of the last Apis was afterwards found in the

gallery, not enough time having been given to put it in place.

The Roman senators refused to give up the old religion, about which clung all the memories of Roman history. They asked permission of Theodosius to replace the statue of Victory in their hall, but were refused; they then appealed with better success to Eugenius, although he too was a Christian. Arbogast, who favored the pagans, placed the image of Hercules on the standards, and the prætorian prefect at Rome ordered a pagan festival for the purifying of the city.

After the defeat of Eugenius Theodosius dealt the last blow to paganism. The statue of Victory was decisively withdrawn from the senate chamber. The sacred fire on the Roman hearth, guarded so long by the Vestals (see page 40), was extinguished. The Olympian games in Greece were celebrated for the last time (394 A.D.).

Paganism nevertheless survived another century and more.

SOURCES.

Ammianus Marcellinus. *Roman History*.
Eutropius..... Bk. x, from § 10.

PARALLEL READING.

Duruy	cc. cv-cix.
Gibbon	cc. xix, xxi-xxviii.
Botsford.....	c. xiii to p. 298.
Morey.....	c. xxviii, § 3.
Myers.....	cc. xxi-xxii, § 267.
Milman	Vol. II, Bk. III, c.vi; Vol. III, Bk. III, c.vi.
Hodgkin.....	<i>Italy and her Invaders</i> , Bk. I, cc. i-xii
Gardner, Alice.....	<i>Julian</i> (Heroes).
Bradley.....	<i>The Goths</i> (Stories of the Nations).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS.

Arcadius and Honorius.—Theodosius, on his death in 395 A.D., left his empire to his two young sons, Arcadius and Honorius. The former was to rule at Constantinople, the latter in the west. There was no thought of a division of the empire by such an arrangement. The brothers were to be joint emperors of a common dominion. But the fault of such an arrangement is obvious. Either the country is too large to be governed from one centre, or this system is weak from its lack of centralization and unity. Yet in this partition (for such it really came to be) is to be found the germ of a great advantage. For within a century of the time of Theodosius the western half of the empire crumbled and dissolved, but the very fact that the eastern half was semi-independent before this happened enabled it to live on and to maintain its organization and life, and to be for centuries the barrier which protected Europe from Mohammedan invasion on its eastern side.

The Visigoths and Alaric.—The reigns of the two brothers were marked by renewed troubles with the Germanic peoples. Their presence north of the empire had first disclosed itself as a serious menace five hundred years before, but Marius had been able to avert that threat for a time by his defeat of the Cimbri and the Teutons (see page 193). Cæsar's conquest of Gaul had interposed a temporary barrier against the Germans on the northwest. But the growing power of the barbarians and the increasing weakness of the

empire together made it inevitable that the Germanic hordes should overflow from central into southern Europe.

There was pressure upon these people and temptation before them. That pressure was of the increasing popula-

tion of their own sections.

Their mode of life required extensive territory; for their methods of agriculture and herding were very primitive. Moreover, the pressure had been aggravated, as we have seen in the case of the Visigoths, by the appearance of the Huns (see page 415). The temptation was that spread before these people by the happier climate, the wealth, and the many attractions of the empire. The resultant of this pressure from the rear and this attraction from the front was a vast irruption of Germanic peoples into the confines of the empire, which resulted in the fifth century in their becoming masters of its western half.



ROMAN CONSUL OF AGE OF HONORIUS.¹

The story of that irruption becomes vivid in the time of Arcadius and Honorius. Their father, the great Theodosius, had been able to hold

¹ The banner bears the legend: "In the name of Christ may you be ever victorious."

the Visigoths in check. But they had become restive under misrule comparable to that of the American Indians by the agents of the United States government, and were moreover a body large enough to be very powerful. A young and ambitious chieftain had lately come to the front among them, Alaric by name. Under his lead the Visigoths broke loose from all restraint, and poured from Mœsia and Thrace into Greece, which they plundered at will. But in the service of Honorius was an able general, himself of Germanic origin, a Vandal. Under his leadership the Roman armies were able to force Alaric out of Greece. He turned into Italy, followed by Stilicho, and in two great battles at Pollentia and Verona, 402 and 403 A.D., the Goths were defeated with tremendous slaughter. In honor of these victories a magnificent triumph was celebrated at Rome, in which Stilicho rode side by side with his imperial master. This triumph of 404 A.D. is notable as being the last one of the long line of similar celebrations which Rome was ever to witness or for which she was to have occasion.

Noteworthy is also the fact that it is to a German general that the defeat of the Germanic invaders was due. And his army, moreover, was doubtless predominatingly of German blood. Rome had no longer the strength nor the skill to fight her own battles.

Radagaisus.—Hardly was this Visigothic danger for the time averted, when a new peril threatened. Another agglomeration of barbarians—Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and others—swarmed over the Alps. This time the danger was more terrible than before. Alaric and his people were at least nominal Christians, for they had been within the empire for years, and had felt its civilizing touch; but Radagaisus and his hordes were heathen still. Again it was Stilicho to the rescue, and in Tuscany a mighty battle brought deliverance once more to Rome (406 A.D.).

But the weakling emperor could not tolerate that his servant Stilicho should win such honors and prove himself

so mighty a factor in the welfare of the state, and the princeling caused the soldier to be slain. Terrible was the German revenge upon Rome for the death of her great Germanic defender.

The Ransom and the Capture of Rome.—Alaric had again recruited his forces. The Roman government by acts of cruelty such as are characteristic of weak and foolish statesmanship had turned against itself many of its Gothic mercenaries; these joined Alaric. The result was a fresh invasion of Italy. Rome was besieged, and was forced by the horrors of famine to ask for terms. Never since the days of Hannibal, six hundred years before, had Rome seen hostile soldiers at her gates. Finally terms of ransom were agreed upon and the Goths departed.

At first the conqueror demanded as the price of his withdrawal: "All the gold and silver in the city, whether public or private property; all portable property of value; and all slaves of barbarian origin." The Romans asked, "What will be left us?" "Your lives," was the answer.

The Gothic chief was finally induced to accept five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand silken robes, three thousand pieces of scarlet cloth, and three thousand pounds of pepper. The last item suggests the scarcity of the latter article, and the esteem in which it was held. To raise the whole ransom required the most strenuous exertions on the part of the city.

Alaric was again treated unwisely by the emperor, and the blow fell upon Rome. The ransom had been effected in 409 A.D. Now in 410, just eight hundred years since the Gauls under Brennus had sacked the eternal city, it was given over once more to plunder. Alaric, as a Christian, bade spare the churches and the lives of the people. But the wealth of the city was stripped from it, and for six days and nights the plunder, with its inevitable deeds of horror, went on.

From Rome Alaric led his hosts southward, planning to subdue Sicily and to seek an empire in Africa. But death cut short his plans (410 A.D.).

His followers made their slaves turn aside the stream of the

Busentinus, in southern Italy. In the bed of the river the body of the chieftain was buried, and the stream restored to its course.



GALLA PLACIDIA AND HER SON VALENTINIAN III. (ABOUT 425 A.D.).

The slaves who had done the work were then killed, that no enemy might know the burial-place of the great leader.

The Barbarians in the Provinces.—The capture and the sack of Rome was but an incident in a great process going

on throughout all the western Roman empire. The hordes of Alaric, joined by others, moved out of Italy, and under the leadership of Ataulf (Adolphus) crossed into Gaul, where they set up what is called the Visigothic kingdom. They soon took parts of Spain also.

Meanwhile another tribe, the Vandals from Pannonia, moving in the same general direction, settled for a while in Spain, where the district of Andalusia (Vandalusia) bears historic witness to their sojourn, and thence passed into Africa, where they wrested the control from the Romans and set up their own Vandal kingdom.

In southeastern France another name, Burgundy, tells the story of still another Gothic people, who, as part of the same great movement, took possession of that section.

Destined to endure longer than any of these kingdoms already named, the Frankish kingdom had its origin in this same period, even earlier.

But no province suffered so severely from the barbarian irruption as did Britain. Britain had been quite thoroughly Romanized. And the native British stock, after centuries of subjection, had become unable to care for themselves. So when in 407 A.D. Stilicho had recalled the last of the Roman legionaries from Britain for the war against the Goths, the Britons had been left in pitiable condition. For the fierce savages from Caledonia, beyond the Roman walls, now broke in, and the British were in danger of destruction. They wrote pitiful letters to the consul at Rome begging for aid, which was necessarily withheld.

They wrote: "To Aetius the consul, the groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are either slain or drowned."

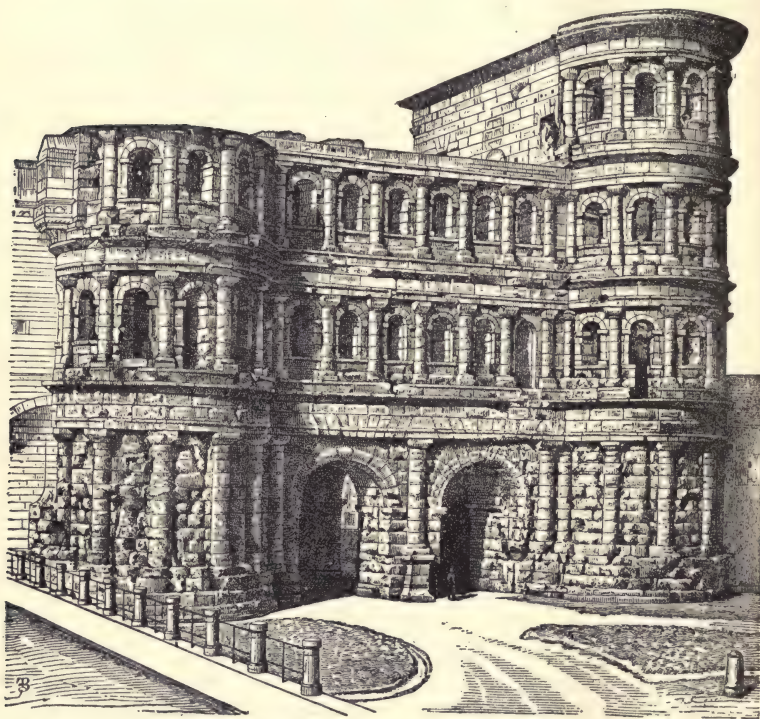
The helpless Britons appealed to Saxon rovers, whose incursions had long been only less dreadful than the Caledonian inroads, to help them against the latter. In the middle of the fifth century these people came—Angles, Jutes, Saxons—in ever-increasing numbers, at first to help

the Britons, and soon to settle as their masters. Their kinsmen who had taken possession of Africa, Spain, and Gaul had been at least half-civilized and nominally Christian. But these Germans of the north were still worshippers of Thor and Wodin, and their fierce brutality went far to efface from Britain any traces of the Roman occupation. In the other parts of the empire the Teutons adopted from the conquered, institutions, language, and laws in large measure. In Britain they were ruthless destroyers. In this fact is to be found explanation of the radical difference existing to-day between France and England. The former is built upon a Latin basis; the latter upon one almost wholly Anglo-Saxon. At the time this complete subversion of most that was Roman looked like an unmitigated calamity. In the course of history it has come to be considered as the very foundation of all that is peculiarly English.

Attila and the Huns.—A worse fate than had befallen Britain threatened Rome herself for a time. We have already caught a glimpse of the fierce, nomadic Huns, whose impact had driven the Goths across the Danube under Valens (see page 415). Another generation of these dreadful pirates of the land, under Attila, the so-called “Scourge of God,” had terrorized the emperor of Constantinople into payment of tribute, and then surged westward into Gaul. But here the civilized elements, Visigoths, Franks, Burgundians, and Roman provincials under their governor Aetius, joined in a final desperate effort. On the fateful field of Châlons (451 A.D.) it is said that from one to three hundred thousand of the seven hundred thousand followers of Attila were slain.

But in spite of this defeat the Huns were not completely crushed. The following year they were able to enter Italy and to ravage all the northern portion and to plunder the principal cities. It seemed as if Rome herself must undergo a repetition of the experience she had had with Alaric a generation before. But Leo, the great bishop of Rome, took

upon himself the part of intercessor for his city and people. He pleaded with the Hunnish chieftain, and this, with the addition of a payment in money from the emperor, induced him to withdraw. The next year he died and his people ceased to be a menace.



PORTA NIGRA AT TREVES, THE ROMAN CAPITAL OF GAUL.

Venice owes her foundation to the terror inspired by Attila. For it was fugitives from the cities laid waste by him who settled in the lonely marshes at the upper end of the Adriatic. There, on a site too wretched to be worth plundering, they began, as a refuge from the Scourge of God,

the humble town which was destined to become the Queen of the Adriatic (452 A.D.).

Gaiseric and the Vandals.—Rome had hardly time to recover from the shock of the Hunnish invasion when she was again menaced. This time the peril was not from the north, but from the south. Yet it was of northern origin. For the Vandals, a Germanic race whom we have seen moving through Spain and settling in Roman Africa, had built up there a strong maritime power. But they played the part of pirates rather than of traders. The divisions and the consequent weakness of Rome marked her as a prey for these marauders, and in the year 455 A.D. a Vandal fleet, led by their king Gaiseric, sailed up the Tiber and moored at the Roman piers. Again the Christian bishop Leo tried his persuasions, and with better hopes than in the case of Attila, for Gaiseric was a Christian, although an Arian. But the Vandals were not thus to be balked. They did indeed spare the lives of the Romans, but the possessions of the metropolis were their prey. And laden with these their vessels sailed away.

Among the articles seized was the golden candlestick that had once adorned the temple at Jerusalem, and which Titus had brought to Rome as one of his principal trophies (see page 319). A century later Justinian recaptured it when he overthrew the Vandal power, and carried it to Constantinople. Justinian then transferred it to Jerusalem. Its later history is unknown. Probably it was destroyed by Moslem fanaticism.

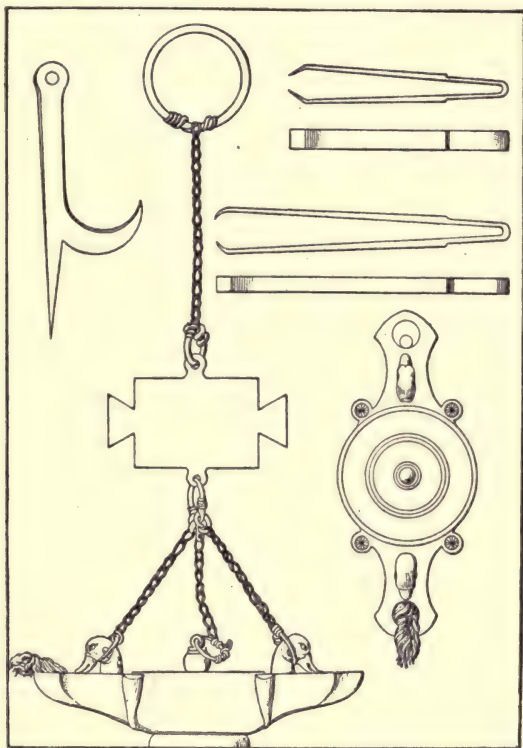
The Last Emperor in Rome.—Province after province had thus been stripped from the empire and had become the seat of a barbarian kingdom. The capital itself had been at the mercy of Goth, of Hun, and of Vandal. The sovereignty now remaining to the once proud city was but a name. That name even was fated to pass away. But it is noteworthy that when the climax of her dissolution came and the empire in the west ceased to be, it was with no dying agony and spasm that the feeble life went out, but so quietly as hardly to attract notice at the time, and it was

only long after that dissolution that men began to speak of the "Fall of Rome." That so-called fall came on this wise.

Italy was overrun by tribe after tribe of barbarians. The relation of the masters of these people to the imperial power was singular. They treated it with apparent respect, and seemed to consider themselves not as conquerors, but as settlers or immigrants, with a very vital interest indeed in affairs of state, but not yet presuming to take the government absolutely into their own hands. From 456 to 472 A.D. a chieftain of the Suevi, named Ricimer, was the power behind the throne. And like Warwick, the "king-maker" in England, he set up emperors at will. After him a Pannonian, Orestes, made his child of six, who bore the significant name of Romulus Augustulus, the wearer of the purple. Orestes was the commander-in-chief of the armies. His act was the last instance of the Roman forces making their nominee emperor of Rome, and Augustulus was the last emperor in the west.

Odoacer, or Odovakar, the leader of the Heruli, one of many tribes found in Italy at this time, finding Orestes and his son not disposed to grant all the demands of his people, made up his mind to put an end to the farce. He accordingly killed Orestes and dethroned the boy emperor. Yet he himself, so far from assuming the vacant place, refrained even from the use of the purple and the diadem to which his position as king among his own people entitled him. Romulus resigned to the senate of Rome, and that body wrote to the emperor at Constantinople the following message: they "disclaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect at the same time both the east and the west. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople; and they

renounce the right of choosing their own master. The republic might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly request that the emperor would invest him with the title of Patrician and the administration of the diocese of Italy."



BRONZE LAMP AND IMPLEMENTS FOR TRIMMING.

Such language as this shows only too clearly how little vitality was left in the empire on its Roman side; and with equal clearness it discloses the view which both Roman and barbarian took of the change in conditions. Neither party

thought of the Roman empire as broken up, or as in any sense ceasing to exist in the west. The barbarians were modest enough to recognize their inferiority to the Romans in culture; and while they could not fail to recognize that Italy was effete politically, they still looked with a deep reverence upon the majesty of the Roman name and tradition, and were not at once ready to disclaim all political subjection to the great organism which for half a millennium had been able to keep the barbarian world under its control. Moreover, the empire to them seemed one, and although the western half had abjectly surrendered to them, they still saw in Constantinople the depositary of that power before which their fathers for centuries had trembled. Therefore for the time, at least, they regarded themselves, certainly in Italy, rather as new citizens requiring some modifications of the old system than as conquerors who were to sweep that system entirely out of existence.

Causes of the Disintegration.—It is easy to assign many reasons for the decay of the western empire. The deterioration from the great days of republican simplicity and civic pride and patriotism, and from the administrative ability of the empire at its best, is perfectly obvious. The sources of this deterioration are also many of them perfectly obvious. At the same time we are faced by the perplexing problem, Why did not the same causes produce a similar disintegration in the eastern section of the empire, where, to all appearance, they were equally operative? To this we can only answer that they happened to accumulate in just such a way and at just such a time in the west as to produce their full logical result, while in the east some happy accidents contributed to prevent their full force being felt at any one period. And so the Byzantine empire was spared for a thousand years to subserve a highly important mission to civilization. But it is well to review certain of the recognized causes which did underlie the complete disintegration of the western half of the empire.

Political Causes.—The republic fell because it failed to govern justly. And the root of the injustice lay in the fact that the theory was tacitly accepted that the government existed for the sake of the governing class and not for the sake of the governed. Such a mistake is always radical and fatal. It killed the republic.

Under Julius and Augustus, as under the Antonines, a better view prevailed. Hence, as has been said, probably the Mediterranean world was never better governed than in the second century after Christ. But these conditions did not last. The empire became the spoil and the prey of militarism. And the rule of the soldiery elevated to power merely a series of temporary victors, and not men of wise and unselfish statesmanship. That a man can subdue his rivals or even the enemies of the state gives no assurance that he can lead a people in the paths of peaceful prosperity. And so a line of tyrants and weaklings (the terms are often convertible) sat in the palace of the Cæsars and worked their fatal mischief.

The recent story of the empire has shown us that these tyrant weaklings were often jealous of their best soldiers and administrators. Honorius's execution of Stilicho is a striking example. Thus the best ability of the people was kept out of power, and the worst element ruled.

The total lack of a representative system, and the principle of centralization in government, was another fault. It is true that representation was yet far in the future, but some measure of home rule might have served to strengthen the outlying portions of the state, and to knit the whole body politic into a contented whole which could have absorbed and assimilated the barbarians without convulsive change. It is true that the municipalities of the empire had home government; but no province had it, all the provinces being directly administered from the capital, just as France was governed under the Bourbons.

Another cause that may be assigned a place under this

head is the want of unity between the east and the west. There had come to be a Greek half and a Latin half of the empire, and the one was unable to reinforce the other. They were nominally one, yet the racial difference was so great that it served to prevent community of interest and feeling.

Among the barbarians, also, there was a development which may be called a political cause of the catastrophe we are studying. That is the advance of the Germans themselves in organization. At an earlier stage they had had little more organization than our rudest American Indians. Now they had become united into much larger aggregations, and had developed among themselves leaders of considerable ability. And among these semi-nationalized units there had grown up great confederations. We speak of these people as barbarians. But it needs to be steadily held in mind that by the fifth century they were well along the road to civilization. They had borrowed most of its simpler elements from the Romans themselves. They were not heathen, moreover, most of them, but Christianized before they entered the empire. When to their advanced condition is added the force of their numbers, it will be seen that the empire had no mean foe to contend with.

Social and Economic Causes.—It is difficult to separate these two sets of causes.

First may be placed the serious decline in population. Augustus had felt the peril of this and had vainly exerted himself against it. But the evil became far more serious after his time. Not only was the reluctance to marry on the part of the Romans a continuing factor, but it was increased by the spirit of Christian asceticism, which put a premium upon celibacy. In the second century after Christ the great series of pestilences began to decimate the population. And when to these causes is added the constant toll upon numbers demanded by the god of war, and the effect of increasing difficulty in making a living, one can under-

stand why the population so steadily declined. While this was true on the Roman side, the opposite was the case with the Teutonic peoples. Their respect and love for family life, their freedom from the gross vices of cities, the fact that they were continually advancing in the scale of living, all contributed to their increase. And from the vast reservoir of central and eastern Europe there was always a fresh supply of them to add to the numbers already on the frontiers, or within the borders of the empire.

Another cause of weakness to the Romans was their caste system, which destroyed the ambition of the individual, and made life monotonous and hopeless, somewhat as in India to-day, for the average man. What a man was born, that he must continue to be; if his father was sailor or carpenter, he must be the same.

Very prominent among these economic causes must be placed slavery. Slavery then was quite different from the recent slavery of America. Here it was the holding in bondage of a race inferior to the masters and of another color. The American slave could not be mistaken for one of the dominant race. The slavery of the empire degraded men of the same race and the same natural ability as the masters. And degrading the servant, it degraded the master too, all the more when by nature they were so much alike. And when in the slave class were to be found, as we have seen, many if not most of the skilled artisans, and even of what we to-day count professional men, it will readily be perceived that a badge of disgrace was set upon nearly every form of honest and remunerative toil, and thus there was inevitably developed among the freemen a class that must have corresponded closely to our "poor whites." Slavery also is the most expensive form of labor that can be employed. It seems cheap, but is in reality of ruinous cost. For the slave will in the nature of things work lethargically and live wastefully.

It is almost needless to remark upon the entire lack

among the Romans of any adequate industrial life and organization.

Taxation might have been included among the political causes. But it has place here as well. Lactantius, writing in the fourth century, says, probably with much exaggeration, that there were more persons to collect than to pay the taxes. Absolutely they did not amount to so much as many modern states collect *per capita*. But in comparison with diminishing resources they constituted a crushing burden, and the struggling swimmer in the rough waves of those times could never get his head fairly above water and draw a generous breath, before the weight of taxation about his neck forced him under once more and all but strangled him. Progress under such conditions was impossible.

Aggravating the financial distress was the scarcity and the debasement of the coinage.

Military Causes.—From what has been already said it is easy to perceive what must have been the military difficulties of the empire. Her own resources, both of men and of money, were steadily declining. Recruiting was done almost entirely from among the very barbarian peoples who were to be the chief enemies of the empire. A Goth would serve his term in the imperial armies, and then go back to his own people, knowing all the military resources and methods of the Romans. Consequently the Germanic forces were in no wise inferior to the imperial in training, equipment, and least of all in numbers. It has been pointed out that while in modern times there is constant improvement in weapons, and thus the higher peoples can always keep in advance of the less civilized, in the times we are studying there was no improvement from century to century, and the Romans therefore were not one whit ahead of their dangerous foes in the construction or use of weapons.

Moral and Religious Causes.—Volumes have been written upon the moral degeneracy of the later empire. But a people are never degenerate as a whole. Undoubtedly

there was much corruption, especially in the capital, but the history of the fourth century shows us, especially in the provinces and among the pagans, a wholesome morality and a delightful family life that does not fit in at all with the commonly received views of the universal degradation. The mother city herself was the chief sufferer from immorality, but this cannot account for the downfall of half the empire, any more than the fact that the Roman populace received free bread and free shows can be accepted as a degrading fact affecting the empire as a whole. Such degradation and such immorality were largely local. The city of Rome was not the empire any more than Paris is France, or New York the United States.

As to religion, there are two things to be thought of. Paganism was of course on the decline. And many who were not yet ready to accept Christianity had lost all real faith in their old doctrines. And a nation without positive religious beliefs is never a virile nation. Rome was weak, then, at this point. The influence of Christianity was both positive and negative. Negatively it frowned upon much that was considered of the essence of



CONSULAR COSTUME OF THE LATER EMPIRE.

patriotism. It has been asserted that it kept men out of the army, but this ought to have been as operative among the barbarians as among the Romans, and can be neglected. Positively Christianity must have been a salutary influence.

On the whole, then, it would seem that moral and religious questions had less to do with the disintegration of the western empire than had the political, social, and economic causes.

Christianity in the Fifth Century.—The one region of life where there was vitality and growth in this dismal time was the Christian Church. The fifth century was the time when it emerged into prominence as a powerful force in the body politic. A group of great men make the annals of the Church glorious. In Constantinople was the great preacher John Chrysostom, or the “golden mouth,” whose profound piety and fiery oratory made him the arbiter of morals in a court that sorely needed supervision. (Died 407 A.D.)

A generation later came Augustine. First a teacher of rhetoric, and dissolute in life, he then embraced a heretical form of Christianity, but subsequently became an orthodox Christian, and was made bishop of Hippo in Africa. The troubles of the empire with Goth and Vandal led to the writing of his immortal work, *The City of God*, in which he pointed out that while earthly capitals may be devastated there is a heavenly city which is eternal. He also became the great constructive theologian of the Latin Church, and his thought still controls Roman Catholic theology, and much of Protestant thinking as well.

Leo, the great bishop of Rome, has already appeared in this story. What a Roman emperor could not do the Roman bishop did. Attila and Gaiseric, heathen and heretic, both bowed in reverence to his entreaties.

The political misfortunes of the state therefore were in a sense the fortune of the Church, and especially of the papacy. It is hardly correct yet to speak of a papacy at this period, for such an idea was still in the future. But the germs of

the enormous power of the Roman bishops were already sprouting. And while Rome declined politically, she rose as a religious centre. The removal of the emperor's residence from Rome to Milan or Ravenna, and finally the cessation of the imperial office in the west altogether, led to the bishop of Rome becoming the leading citizen in the old capital. And there has always been a glamour about the name of Rome. A mystic power has seemed to be in and of her. And even the barbarians, while they no longer saw in Capitol and Forum the seat of majesty, yet revered the Eternal City, and Roman provincial and Gothic conqueror came to look upon the bishop of Rome rather than the emperor of Rome as the centre of unity for the west.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

THE TEUTONIC KINGDOMS.

The New Factor in Roman Life.—While the story of the empire in the west is commonly regarded as ending with the year 476 A.D., that of the so-called fall of Rome, yet the eastern section of the empire remained and regarded itself, and was regarded in the west, as preserving all the sovereignty and majesty of the undivided empire. So the story is not yet over for a thousand years.

In the western sections, moreover, though the Teutons had wrenched large regions from the integrity of the empire, it is doubtful whether they were more in number than the provincial Romans of the conquered districts. Most likely they were much fewer. Thus, though the history of the Roman empire in the west is broken here, yet the life of the Roman people goes on. The Latin language, the Roman law, the whole civilization which had developed under centuries of Roman rule goes on. There is a change of masters indeed; but often it is a change for the better. And the Teutonic ruler brings the peace and consequent prosperity which the Roman office-holder had not given for many a long year. At first the Roman lives under Roman law and the Teuton under his Germanic law. It is long before the two systems blend; just as it is long before the Latin and the language of the invaders blend to form a new tongue compounded of both.

In all southwestern Europe the Roman populace, the

Roman institutions, form the base; the Teutonic is the admixture. These Germans bring with them, in addition to their physical presence and prowess, many institutions which are to blend with and be a helpful addition to the older.

The *Germania* of Tacitus gives us our best notion of what the German of the first century was. By the fifth century, most of them had made considerable progress from that primitive state, notably in the matter of religion. For many of them were now Christians, even though in the heretical and Arian form. But they had retained and they gave to their new surroundings certain marked qualities and customs which were of priceless value.

They had their vices, notably drinking and gaming, but compared with the conquered Romans certain virtues were theirs also which count for much in the formation of communities. They were especially worthy on the side of the family life and the love of home, while in this regard the Romans had been lamentably lacking. We have already noticed this as one element of Rome's weakness.

On the political side the German has much to contribute, and it is his offering that is about to furnish the germ out of which is to grow the advanced constitutional development of western Europe. With the Roman, as with the Greek, the individual had been subordinated to the state. With the German the individual is first. The state exists for him, not he for the state. Not for long is it possible for despotism to flourish where there is a large strain of Germanic blood. Again, the German brings with him a monarchy indeed, but it is far from absolute. The elective principle controls. The king is chosen because of his ability. "The king is the man who *can*." The elective principle had totally disappeared under the system of Diocletian and Constantine. The Germans bring it back. And a third political contribution of theirs is the germ of the representative system found in their public assemblies, national and local.

With these preliminary remarks about the Germanic peoples in general, and remembering that we are still going on to study the development of the Roman people—with the Germanic addition, indeed—until the time when the effort is made to reconstitute the western empire under Charlemagne, it will be in place to note the organization and early progress of the different kingdoms which were organized by Germanic peoples among the ruins of the western empire.

The Vandals.—Starting from the same mysterious centre beyond the Danube from which so many kindred tribes came forth, these people in the first decade of the fifth century crossed the Rhine. We have already traced their slow progress through Spain, and their settlement in northern Africa. From this as their base they had terrorized the Mediterranean, and even taken Rome itself. They seemed less susceptible of taking on the refinements of their subjects than did the other Germanic peoples. They were Arians and bitter persecutors of the orthodox. And by this madness of theirs they wrought their own undoing. For the great Justinian, emperor at Constantinople from 527 A.D., in response to the frantic appeals of the orthodox Africans sent Belisarius to their aid, and completely overthrew the Vandal power. Once more Africa was within the unity of the empire. But a worse thing than Vandal Arianism was in store for it. A century later the Moslem hordes swept over it, and Arian and orthodox alike were overwhelmed before the new faith, and a new empire took the place of the Roman.

The Visigoths.—These people, after the death of Alaric, passed westward, and took possession of much of Gaul and Spain. Here under Euric (476–485 A.D.), who had the sanction of Odoacer, they became strong and celebrated. But the same fate befell them as had overtaken the Vandals. In 711 A.D. the vanguard of the Mohammedan forces crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, and within a few years the Visigothic



name had perished, and not until 1492 A.D. were the Moslems driven from power in that quarter of Europe.

The Burgundians.—Less than a century tells the story of the independent existence of the early Burgundian nation (443-534 A.D.). For they were finally absorbed by the great Frankish monarchy, the one government which was destined to endure among all these Teutonic nations.

The Franks.—Soon after 300 A.D. a group of Teutons who called themselves Franks had taken possession of parts of Gaul. They had been constantly growing in power, and the Salian branch had secured the preeminence. One of the chieftains of this branch, Clovis (Chlodwig, modern Louis), became the first great king among them, and distinguished himself by successive conquests. He first conceived the idea of displacing the Roman power in Gaul, and in 486 A.D. defeated the Roman governor Syagrius in the great battle of Soissons.

After this battle there was to be a division of the booty. Clovis wished to retain from the common distribution a beautiful vase for himself, but an indignant warrior, with characteristic German spirit, dashed it into fragments with his battle-axe rather than let the king take so rich a share as royal prerogative. Some time later the king at a review, finding fault with this independent subject, cleft his head, saying, "Thus didst thou to the vase at Soissons."

War with the Alemanni followed. These were a kindred people to the Franks and jealous rivals. Not far from Cologne the decisive battle was fought which made the Franks the victors. And this battle is noteworthy also for another weighty reason. It was reputed to be the occasion of the conversion of Clovis. A pagan hitherto, on the field of battle, when hard pressed by the Alemanni, he vowed to the God of the Christians that if victory were only his, he would become a Christian. He won the battle, and kept his vow. His wife was already a Christian, and an orthodox Christian. Clovis naturally followed her leading, and thus it came about that the great Frankish people embraced

orthodox Christianity rather than the Arian form which had been adopted by most of their race. This orthodoxy of the Frankish people and monarchy was productive of the most important consequences, as we shall see, in the future relations of that monarchy and the Roman Church.

Subsequent campaigns gave him control over Burgundy and over nearly all of the Visigothic possessions in Gaul. To him, therefore, are to be definitely traced the foundations of Frankish greatness. But it must not be forgotten, when thinking of the origins of the French people, how much is owing to the fine Gallo-Roman civilization which Clovis and his ancestors found. For at the time of the extinction of the western empire Gaul was probably more truly representative of the better parts of the old Roman culture than was Italy itself. On these foundations, though unable for many centuries to use them in all their length and breadth, the Franks built their structure.

The royal house of Clovis is known as the Merovingian, from a mythical ancestor, Merovæus or Merowig. It held the Frankish throne for a century and more after Clovis's death, and then fades out of sight in a way that will be told later on.

The Ostrogoths (493-554 A.D.).—Our last glance at Italy showed us the patrician Odoacer, a leader of the Heruli, as the arbiter of affairs. But a greater than he, and greater folk than the Heruli, now appear upon the scene and take control.

The Ostrogoths tarried in eastern Europe nearly a century longer than the Visigoths. They were the dread and yet the dependence of the eastern empire. For they served the court of Constantinople as mercenaries who were always ready to revolt.

One of their kings, named Theodoric, had been educated at Constantinople, and there absorbed many of the ideas and refinements of the capital. But his tastes were rude and warlike, and he was glad to join his people once more, and

by doughty deeds to win renown among them. He was commissioned by the emperor Zeno to defend for him the Danubian lands, and was given the title of patrician and consul. The fatal folly of the empire allowed him to be treated with neglect. Rebellion, then reconciliation followed. Finally he was, at his own request, entrusted with



CHURCH OF S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE, RAVENNA.
(Built by Theodoric.)

the project of reconquering Italy for the empire. This he undertook in 493 A.D. For a time he pretended to share with Odoacer the sovereignty of the peninsula, but presently slew his colleague. From this time onwards he ruled Italy better than she had been ruled for generations. His relation to the emperor was ill defined. But he treated him practically as an equal, and considered himself as within the empire. His sway extended for a time from Illyricum to the Atlantic Ocean. In many ways the western empire seemed to be restored again. He was very anxious to retain, at least among his Roman subjects, as much of the ancient life as possible. His court was like that of the later emperors of Rome. He respected and adapted to his own uses the Roman law. Himself an Arian, he treated his

orthodox subjects with far more toleration than they had reason to expect from a heretic. Taken altogether his reign seems in many respects a reflection or afterglow of some of the best periods of the empire. But its close was gloomy. For he grew jealous and cruel. After his death in 527 A.D., his kingdom, which had been built mainly upon his personal good qualities, fell into unworthy hands, and in 554 A.D. was recovered by Belisarius, the conqueror of the Vandals, for his master Justinian, the eastern emperor.



TOMB OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA.

The Lombards (568–774 A.D.).—But the cup of trouble had not yet been drained by wretched Italy. The land which in bygone centuries had sent her conquering legions into all quarters of the world seemed destined to be harried in turn by conquerors from almost as many regions. Hun,

Goth, Vandal, and Greek had humiliated her. Still another foe was at hand. From central Europe once more the invaders came. This time, only eleven years after the conquest of Belisarius, it was the Lombards who took their turn at invasion, and their share of plunder. At first their Arian heresy, more hostile than that of Theodoric, made trouble for the Catholic Church, but toward the opening of the seventh century they accepted orthodoxy, and from that time on their difficulties with the popes were rather political than ecclesiastical. Their kingdom lasted until it was overthrown in 774 A.D. by Charlemagne. Their name remains in the geographical designation of northern Italy, Lombardy, and their blood still makes itself manifest as one finds in that region the light hair and the blue eyes which bespeak the strong Teutonic influence.

Other Teutonic Tribes.—We have seen that Britain was the first of the Roman provinces to be shorn away from the empire. And as it never henceforth, even nominally, is restored to that empire, and inasmuch as the Anglo-Saxons so thoroughly rid themselves of all Roman influence in the island, it ceases to fall directly within the scope of this work. While this is true politically, it will be found later that the circle of religious unity which had its centre at Rome, and which in many ways was a resultant of the older political unity, still includes Britain. It is sufficient here to remark that the various Saxon tribes divide the island between them, until Egbert, the political pupil of Charlemagne, succeeds in making himself the first king of England as a whole (802 A.D.).

Outside the northern limits of the empire there were still countless hosts of Teutonic peoples who never came into any close touch with the empire either in its grandeur or in its dissolution. At the period we are now treating these ancestors of the present Germans and Scandinavians were still semi-barbarous and wholly heathen.

The point to be remembered in connection with this

chapter is that it was kinsmen of these that had been able to break up the western half of the empire and to appropriate it to themselves. We speak sometimes of the Latin peoples. But there is no such people. Those who are nearest the old Roman stock, still must have in them to-day a large proportion of Teutonic blood, and the name Romance peoples, indicative of their composite origin, at bottom Latin, but largely modified, is a more fitting designation. And another noteworthy thing is the way in which these all-conquering Germans manifested their aptitude to take up the higher civilization of their Latin subjects. For the capacity of the German for new ideas was the great hope of the age that was to follow. Had he been, like the Turk of the Middle Ages, a conqueror, whose advent meant the destruction of most that was old, and the refusal to accept the new in any form, all Europe to-day might be what Turkey is. But in the Teuton lay the hope and not the despair of the world.

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CHAPTER XXX.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

The Empire Survives.—It has been already remarked that the people of the closing quarter of the fifth century would have wondered what was meant if they had heard of the “fall of Rome.” For the mere fact that there was no longer an emperor in the city of the Cæsars was nothing new or unnatural to them. Ever since the days of Constantine they had been used to that. To their minds the continuity of the empire lay not in the importance of the city on the Tiber, but in the fact that there was a regular succession of emperors—whether eastern, western, or both, made little difference; that consuls were named from year to year; that the machinery of government worked, more or less smoothly, in the ways to which the system of Diocletian and Constantine had accustomed them. All these conditions were fulfilled as completely after Odoacer’s revolution as before it.

Attention, therefore, is transferred for a time from Rome to Constantinople. This capital becomes the centre of actions that are extremely important in their bearing on the history of Europe. It has been the fashion until recently to speak contemptuously of the eastern, Byzantine, or Greek empire, as living only in a base and servile fashion after the fall of Rome and until its extinction by the Turks in 1453. But the more careful study and reflection of later historians has resulted in a revival of esteem for the existence and the work of that empire. And a more generous recognition is being given to that work. If it was largely of a negative

character, still to have stood for a thousand years as a bulwark against the incursion of non-Aryan and non-Christian hordes into Europe is to have rendered a great service.

In discussing the causes of the successes of the Teutonic peoples against the western half of the empire it was hinted that the reason they were not similarly successful in dismembering the eastern half was to be found in a happy conjunction of accidents. That is but partially true, unless great men are to be classed as accidents. In the period which falls within the scope of this work there sat on the Byzantine throne two great men. One of these men was surrounded with able helpers. He used them for the most part skilfully, and was able thus to do great things for his empire. Another reason for the survival and the service of the eastern empire is to be found in the fact that its rulers, when confronted by thronging barbarians, were able in several instances to play one tribe or nation against another, or by diplomacy to win what they were not strong enough to accomplish by arms.

Justinian.—The first of these two great emperors was Justinian, who ruled from 527 to 565 A.D., thus appearing on the scene almost at the moment when the great Theodoric is passing off. Justin, his uncle, a rough Illyrian, like so many of the ablest wearers of the imperial purple, had forced his way to the throne of Constantinople by his military ability. The nephew was himself no general, but found ready at command a military genius of whom more will be said presently.

Into his reign are crowded a series of events which vividly illustrate the changes which had taken place since the times of Augustus. His life is told in the pages of Procopius, his minister and biographer. He wrote a complete account of the wars of Justinian, a work on his great building operations, and after Justinian's death there appeared a book of anecdotes about the emperor and his wife which it would not have been wise to publish during their lives. From

these sources we get a better idea of the times than of any era for some distance on either side of it.



JUSTINIAN AND HIS COURT.
(Mosaic.)

Theodora.—Justinian married a woman of exceeding beauty and brilliancy. She was of lowly origin, and had been an actress in the public shows of the eastern capital. She had been as low in many of her practices as a woman could well be, and was notorious for her beautiful wickedness. That an emperor could marry such a woman is a commentary on the moral conditions of the time. But it is fair to say that from the time of her marriage she seemed to rise to her position, and deported herself as an empress ought. Justinian made her not merely consort, but actually associated her with him in the government, and her woman's wit and address served him many a good turn.

The Factions of the Circus.—It will be remembered that the citizens of old Rome sunk so low as to be mainly a mere rabble clamoring to the authorities for "bread and circustickets." The same vicious system had been extended to the new capital on the Bosphorus. As it must imitate the

glories of old Rome, so it must borrow her shame. A populace so pampered had little better to do than to give their energy to the excitement of witnessing the great races of the hippodrome. Rival factions of racers and their partisans became fixed features of metropolitan life. The quarrels of these factions took the place held by political animosities in our own times. The two principal racing factions were the "greens" and the "blues." On one occasion both of these factions became incensed against the government, with the result that their combined rioting was not suppressed until thirty-five thousand of them had been slain by the soldiers. A poor enough cause for such excitement and such slaughter, and one which marks only too well the degradation of a people who considered themselves imperial.

The Vandal War.—One of the chief glories of the reign of Justinian is that won for him by his great general, Belisarius, in a series of successful wars. Belisarius, like his master, was of barbarian origin. But his youth had been rudely nurtured, and he had fought his way by sheer ability to high command. His first great opportunity came when Justinian interfered in the Vandal kingdom of north Africa. Trouble between the orthodox inhabitants whose ancestors had once been citizens of the empire, and the Arian Vandals, led to Justinian undertaking the conquest of the latter. The political bearing of the intervention is also to be noted. For surely Justinian might be glad of an excuse to restore to his empire so goodly a region. After an arduous campaign the Vandal capital, a new Carthage, was captured, and the Vandal kingdom came to an end (533 A.D.).

The Winning of Italy.—The next exploit of the great commander was the recovery of Italy to imperial rule and the expulsion of the Ostrogoths. But this task was by no means so easily accomplished as had been the reduction of Africa. From 535 to 553 A.D. the contest was protracted, and the fortunes of war were first with Goth and then with

Roman. At one time the Ostrogoths besieged an imperial army in Rome itself. Finally Belisarius fell under the suspicions of his master and was recalled. And another general named Narses undertook the war. It was at last brought to a successful conclusion, and Italy was definitely annexed to the empire once more. The peninsula was governed by an exarch whose capital was fixed at Ravenna. The province was known as the Exarchate of Ravenna. A preceding sketch of the Lombards has already shown how they broke up this exarchate within a few years. The rift between east and west might be temporarily patched up by military force, but the two halves of the empire must inevitably fall apart in the end.

Silk-culture.—These conquests by the great soldiers Belisarius and Narses seemed brilliant, but could not produce permanent results. The time was gone by when the world could be governed from one centre. Its interests had become too diverse. But there were several solid achievements in the reign of Justinian. And not the least of these was the introduction of the silkworm into Europe. In the third century a pound of silk was worth, in Italy, twelve ounces of gold. The soft and lustrous fabric, at first condemned as wantonly luxurious, had become almost indispensable, especially since the court and the emperors themselves had adopted it. But to import it from China entailed vast expense in those days of difficult and dangerous transit. At length two Persian monks who had been missionaries in China succeeded in concealing some of the eggs of the silkworm in the tops of their canes, and thus cheating the jealous eyes of the Chinese, they brought the valuable germs safely away with them, and taught the Greeks to rear the insects and to manufacture the fabric. Gibbon remarks that if, instead of stealing from the Chinese the secret of a mere luxury, they had borrowed the art of printing, they would have rendered a far greater service to civilization. That may be so; at the same time it is true that the addition of

silk-culture to the industries of Europe was a substantial gain in that it afforded a new field of labor for thousands who sorely needed a means of livelihood. For times were hard and bitter then for the average man. Wars and forays, seditions and revolutions, scourges of famine and pestilence were frequent and their results dire. In such times it is cheering to know of any progress, however humble, being made along industrial lines.

Justinian's Buildings; St. Sophia.—One of the causes of the heavy taxation which distressed the subjects of Justinian was his extravagance in building. But just as to the similar extravagance and oppression of Henry III. England owes Westminster Abbey, so to Justinian the world owes one of its grandest churches, that of the Holy Wisdom, or Sancta Sophia, at Constantinople. That it is now a Mohammedan mosque does not detract from its architectural grandeur and significance as an exponent of what could be designed and executed in the sixth century.

The Code of Justinian.—The thing by which the great emperor is best and most deservedly known is his codification of Roman law.

Theodosius II., a hundred years before, had made a collection of imperial edicts; but this was imperfect. And the Roman law in its entirety must contain not merely these but the opinions of the great lawyers as well, since the emperors had given to these precedents a legal force. Justinian entrusted the ablest jurists of his age with the task of reducing to writing and harmonizing the vast mass of floating material which composed the law of the time. All the imperial edicts were collected and arranged in the great Code; the precedents found in the decisions of jurists were collected in the Digest, or Pandects; and four books of Institutes, or Elements, were arranged for students of the law. This gigantic task was of service not alone to that age, but on this well-ordered foundation is based the law of half of modern Europe. For in the earliest dawn of the

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 Gaius lib pro secundo pepum cotidianu apum
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Renaissance this code, long neglected, was taken up and studied with energy, and helped to transform the newly forming nations from feudal to modern conditions. Another instance is thus afforded of the way in which our modern world owes a vast debt to the Roman civilization and notably to the Roman political and legal genius. In the United States is to be found a survival of this Roman law. For the legal system of the state of Louisiana, French in origin, is based upon the old French law, and that upon the Roman. Elsewhere in the English-speaking world the Roman law has not been so deeply formative, because of the early and entire separation of Britain from the empire.

Heraclius (610–641 A.D.).—The annals of the eastern empire are inglorious for a time, until the second of the two great emperors alluded to early in the chapter appears. The great service of Heraclius (610–641 A.D.) was in his subjugation of the great Persian power which began at this time to threaten Europe. If it had not been for him and his empire; if there had been the same disorganization in the east as in the west at that time, it is possible that the Persians might have overrun Europe, and the result of this would possibly have been to make the way of the Mohammedans into Europe all the easier. But the deed of Heraclius averted this danger.

The method he employed is one of the most daring in military annals. While Chosroes, the Persian king, was carrying his victorious armies through Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, Heraclius took a very small but carefully selected force, and boldly pushed his way into the heart of the enemy's country. The great battle of Nineveh, 627 A.D., decided that the Persians were to stay in their own country and leave the empire alone.

Later Byzantine History.—The further story of this half of the empire is beyond our scope. For our purpose enough has been said. It held its place largely by force of inertia for eight centuries more, until its mission had been accom-

plished, and the tide of Turkish barbarism had been held back long enough to enable the western nations to stand upon their feet and work out their own superior civilization.

SOURCE.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM.

The New Factor in Life.—Out of the wreck of old Rome there is to be slowly built up a new world. Into the new system of things will enter as component parts most of what we have been considering. The Roman civilization, with its language, its literature, its art and science, its law and philosophy, its general traditions of life: this is the foundation. To this has been added the Germanic element. Here are to be considered as factors the vast mass of the German peoples, with their language, their traditions, their personal characteristics as we have already seen them; their political notions—of art, literature, and science, of course, they had none. Still they are a hugely determining factor in the problem of the Middle Ages.

To these two factors—the Roman and the German—is to be added an important third, viz., Christianity. In the period we are now considering, that of the break-up of the western part of the empire, Christianity comes to the front and takes possession, religiously, of Europe. Henceforth religion is a force in history as it has never been before. One faith, sternly exclusive of all others, with an ideal morality, and a motive power unknown before, becomes the unifying element of a life otherwise chaotic and disorganized.

The Progress of Christianity.—Under Constantine Christianity had first won for itself toleration. Within another century it had ousted paganism from its chartered rights, and made of it a proscribed thing. By the middle of the

fifth century the word pagan, "a villager," had taken on the meaning of a rustic, who has not yet heard of or has not accepted the prevalent Christianity of the towns and of the cultivated class.

But Christianity was no longer the simple creed and life that it had been in the first two centuries of our era. Prosperity and popularity could not be without their effect upon it, as upon all things human. Its creed of primitive simplicity had become sophisticated with Greek philosophy. Sometimes this had produced sects, and notably Gnosticism, which was a compound of Christianity and Neoplatonism. But even when the church resisted such admixtures, her ^{*}dogma was inevitably modified by the current philosophy and life. And in the west it is the fact that her theology was largely affected by political conditions. To Augustine, the great Latin theologian of the fifth century, God was a sort of emperor, and the relation of sonship and fatherhood which Christ had taught was largely forgotten in a new legal relationship akin to that of the subject to his ruler.

Christianity was affected also by the paganism about it, both Roman and German. In the matter of worship especially, it is probable that rites and forms were accommodated to the less spiritual conceptions of the Roman and the rude ideas of the German. This may not have been intentional: it was an inevitable reaction.

Moreover, the fact that Christianity had now become fashionable was not without results affecting its moral purity. Persecution is a great guardian of sincerity. In a persecuted church there are not likely to be found many but convinced and zealous adherents. When things turn the other way, and it is no longer considered quite proper to be outside of the church, then the temptation to insincerity becomes strong. When wealth and fashion come there is no longer the stern purity of the hunted in the catacombs.

But while these reactions of its environment upon Christianity were bound to come, still the Christian faith took its

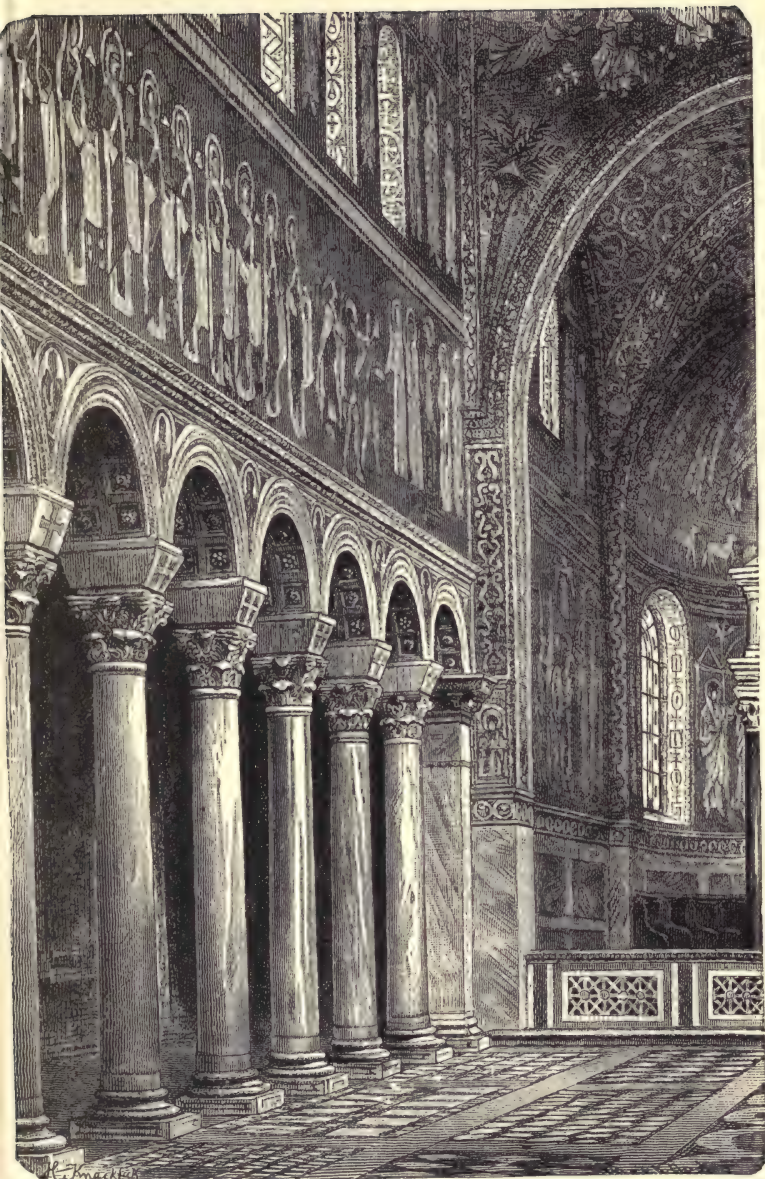
mighty grip upon European life for good. Some phases of its story remain to be traced.

The Growth of the Papacy.—One of the most stupendous institutions in history has been the Papacy. Throughout the Middle Ages it dominated western Europe. To-day its power is different from what it was in 1200 A.D., but who shall say it is less? This papacy has been in many senses the legatee of the dying empire of the west. The pope in the chair of Peter is to a large extent the successor of the emperor on the seat of Augustus or the throne of Constantine. To trace the progress of this mighty spiritual empire from its faint beginnings is an interesting process.

Causes of Papal Greatness.—Several causes can be readily named for the special power attained by the bishops of Rome.

A. The church had early developed a system of government by bishops. This has been already traced in Chapter XXVI. The carrying out of this system to a higher and higher degree, in imitation, probably, of the graduated system of officials in the imperial government, had brought into special prominence and power the so-called patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome, the chief cities of the empire. To complete the analogy it was only needed that one of these should liken himself in the church to the emperor in the state. What more natural than that the bishop of Rome should seek such a position? Aside from such an analogy was the fact that while these other patriarchal cities were near each other, and so circumscribed the possible jurisdiction of each, Rome was the only great city of western Europe. Her bishop then had the whole western empire for his patriarchate. This one fact gave him a great advantage in position.

B. Not only was Rome the only great city of the west: she was the capital as well, and the source of all the great dominating ideas and tendencies of the time. The emperor might indeed reside elsewhere, but still he was the Roman



INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF SANT' APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA.
(Built by Theodoric.)

emperor, ruling the Roman world. A mystic veneration had long clung, still clings, about the very name and site of the Eternal City. The Roman bishop was the beneficiary of this notion. Nor did the political decadence of the capital detract from the importance of its bishop. It rather increased it. For the very structure of the thought of the western world required some great name and office, some great centre of unity at Rome. When the emperors abandoned Rome the bishop became the subject of this esteem and reverence.

C. Spiritual tradition also helped confirm the Roman claims. For it was said that Christ had given the primacy in his church to St. Peter. And had not Peter preached and suffered death at Rome? And was not the Roman bishop then his natural successor, and so the appointed head of the church on earth? Modern scholars are greatly divided over the question whether Peter ever came to Rome at all. The fact makes but little difference in the history. For it was firmly believed that he had worked and died there, and the Church of Rome was to the men of the period we study the church of Peter.

D. In the fifth century it had been well established in the west that appeals in ecclesiastical causes should lie to Rome, and that the opinion of the Roman bishop in matters of doctrine should be of gravest weight. The great Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. had taken a letter of Leo, the Roman bishop, as the solution of a most vexed point of doctrine. Added to all this is the fact that there rose up in Rome now and then bishops of the highest order of talent. Notable among such was the Leo just named. Not only was he great as a theologian, but we have already seen him taming the wrath of an Attila and the ferocity of a Gaiseric.

A century and a half later came Gregory I., who has a twofold title to remembrance. Under him it was that the first Roman mission was sent to England. He is noted also

for a controversy with the patriarch of Constantinople, which shows that even as late as 600 A.D. the bishop of Rome was far from esteeming himself lord of all the church. The bishop of Constantinople, in virtue of his office in the city which was the seat of the only remaining emperor, ventured to style himself "Universal Bishop." Gregory vehemently resented such a claim, not because he wished it for himself: on the contrary, he declared himself "servant of the servants of God." But in real influence he was by all odds the greatest man of his times in the church.

E. The Roman Church was a great missionary church, and this contributed greatly to extending the power of the Roman bishop. We shall trace under another heading the conversion of the Germanic peoples.

All these causes combined to make the Roman bishop undeniably the supreme ecclesiastical power in the west. It can hardly be said that he ever exercised any real authority within the limits of the eastern empire, and in the eighth century there came a serious religious quarrel between the east and the west, which was the beginning of an enduring schism between the Roman and the Greek churches.

The Iconoclastic Controversy.—The veneration of images of the Saviour and the saints had early taken strong root in the church. But a party in the Greek world at length rose who condemned such worship. The bishop of Rome made himself the champion of the use of images. A bitter controversy thus arose, which was intensified by a point of doctrinal divergence. The western church at a Council of Toledo in 589 A.D. had added a clause to the Nicene Creed (the common creed of east and west), which asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. This the Greeks would never accept, and it constitutes to-day a ground of separation between the Greek and the Roman churches, although they have long since ceased to quarrel over the use of artistic representations of the saints.

Conversion of the Barbarians.—It has been already indicated that the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths were Christians before their admission into the empire in the closing years of the fourth century. The conversion of the latter is attributed to Ulfilas, probably the descendant of some Christian captive. He became missionary bishop among these people in 343 A.D., and to him belongs the honor of inventing the first alphabet ever adapted to a Germanic tongue. This he did, and taught his people its use that he might translate into it the Bible. Such is the beginning of literature among the Germanic peoples.

It is said that he purposely left out the Books of the Kings from his translation on account of the stories of battle, saying that his people were warlike enough already without learning any sanction for their ferocity from the chosen people.

All these early converts were Arians, probably because the Arian heresy was in the ascendant at the time of their conversion, but this heresy gradually gave place to the orthodox faith.

Those peoples who were converted after the fall of Rome were brought at once into the orthodox Catholic Church. Amongst these the Franks were of prime importance. In the story of Clovis we have already seen how he was converted on the field of battle. Our next chapter will show how, partly because of his orthodox belief, his successors became the champions of the pope against the heretical Lombards, and thus led to an exchange of services between popes and Frankish kings which was of supreme importance to both.

The Anglo-Saxons.—Roman Britain had been Christianized in some way which is unknown. But this earlier Christianity had been largely uprooted by the Saxon conquerors of the fifth century. They had not exterminated it from the west and the north of the island, but they had not themselves accepted it. It was owing to Gregory, the pope who has lately been mentioned, that their conversion was due.

Before he became pope it is said that he one day saw some fair-haired slaves exposed for sale at Rome. Struck by their difference from the Italians, he asked who they were. "Angles," he was told. "Not Angles, but angels," was his reply (*Non Angli, sed angeli*). He thereupon determined that if ever the opportunity came he would seek to evangelize so attractive a people.

In 596 A.D. he sent Augustine with forty monks to evangelize Britain. Their way had been prepared by Bertha, the Frankish wife of the king of Kent, she being, like her people, a Christian. Augustine's mission was successful, and his location at Canterbury accounts for the fact that that quiet country town is to-day the seat of the primacy of England. This new Roman organization soon came face to face with the old Celtic church, which was doing missionary work among the Saxon conquerors. For a time there were disputes between Roman and Celt on what would seem to us very non-essential points, but which seemed mountainous to them. Fortunately for England the Roman side prevailed, and though no political tie ever again united England to Rome, yet she came into religious unity with her, and drew from Rome a share of the many advantages which the Roman Church undoubtedly had to bestow in the Middle Ages.

The Saxons.—The patron saint of Germany is Boniface. Boniface was an English monk who in the first half of the eighth century gave his life to the conversion of the Saxons. Through his zealous efforts these people were won not only to Christianity, but to a strong devotion to the Roman see. As we have already noticed, in this missionary zeal for Rome is to be found one cause of the universal acceptance of the pope's supremacy in the west.

Monasticism.—Besides the papacy another institution was destined to be of immense service to the church and to civilization. That was monasticism.

The notion that retirement from the world, a life of celibacy, and devotion to spiritual exercises is a road to

special sanctity, is not peculiar to Christianity. It is found in a number of eastern religions, notably Buddhism. But it early found its way into the church. At first it took the form of the solitary life. Men and women went and lived alone in desolate places. Somewhat later, about the close of the third century, the cenobitic, or common, life for monks became popular.

In the dark days of the declining empire the monkish life possessed strong attractions for men weary of the wickedness or disappointments of the world. Monasticism received a lasting impetus for good from Benedict, an Italian (480-543 A.D.), who framed a new Rule for those who chose to follow him. One of the great glories of his rule was that it taught the monk the duty of labor as well as of prayer. It made of him not a mere spiritual loafer, depending upon filth of body for purity of soul; but it insisted that he be orderly as well as devout; that he read as well as pray; and work for his living instead of depending on the chance charity of the pious. The rule of Benedict spread rapidly in favor, and as the world sank into the gloom and anarchy of what are sometimes called the Dark Ages, each of thousands of Benedictine monasteries became a point of light in the darkness.

With our multiplied agencies for philanthropic, educational, religious, and literary work it is difficult for us to reproduce in imagination the way in which all these functions were served by the monasteries for many centuries from 500 A.D. onwards.

Most of the churches, especially among the newly converted people, were those attached to the abbeys. In connection with these were the scanty libraries of the time. Here were the only schools. The passing traveller might always find shelter in the guest-room of the abbey if he were a person of quality, and even if he were penniless some resting-place would be found for him. The criminal might seek asylum with the kindly monks; for the church was

sanctuary, and none might disturb him within its precincts. The monastery lands were much less liable than those of the layman to be harried by ruthless soldiers, for they respected and feared the church. Of literature there was but little in this age, but the meagre chronicles of the time are almost without exception of monastic origin.

Thus it will readily be seen how varied were the services rendered by the monks, and how important a factor their houses were in the vast change which was passing upon the people who had once been the subjects of Rome.

A New and Rival Religion.—Christianity was thus making itself mistress of the civilized world, and solidifying its conquests by the methods just indicated: by the institutions of the papacy and the monastic system. But in the seventh century there arose a new religion which was to be the only great rival of Christianity in the Mediterranean world.

There were other great historic religions. In India the hoary faith of the Hindoos and the only less venerable mysticism taught by Buddha, in China the practical morality of Confucianism, and in Persia the fire-worship of the Zoroastrians might easily have been looked upon as becoming, under certain circumstances, rivals of the Christian faith. But there was in none of these old-world religions, firm as their hold was in the region of their origin, any missionary force whatsoever that could bring them into contact and rivalry with Christianity. And the last thing that was to be looked for was that in such a quarter of the world as Arabia there should arise a faith which should have a conquering power sufficient to make it the one great religious foe of Christianity; the only one which has seriously threatened the empire of the latter over the best portions of the world and the greatest races of mankind. But so it was to be. Out of the desert was to come a great prophet.

Arabia.—This arid and sterile region between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean had never been conquered by any of the great powers that had successively ruled the world.

This may have been partly owing to the fact that it was hardly worth conquering. But the Arabs have always maintained that it was unconquerable. Be that as it may, there was little in its confines to tempt the greed of the conqueror. Unknown and undreaded it had lain for years. But human genius knows no limits. In the deserts of Arabia it may spring into view as readily as in the shadow of an Acropolis or a Capitoline. Arabia produced Mohammed. Mohammed has had a profound effect upon the history of all that was ever within the Roman world. Large portions of what was formerly the western empire fell into the hands of his early followers very soon after that empire dissolved. The eastern empire fell at last before another section of those followers. In Europe, in Asia, and in Africa the conflict has been long and bitter between the followers of the cross and those whose symbol is the crescent. And the fight, it may be, is not over yet.

Mohammed.—In this forgotten corner of the world, somewhere about the year 572 A.D., was born Mohammed. His people were not a force among the nations. For the most part nomads, only those on the coast had some slight commerce with the civilized world. They were sunk in superstition, ignorance, and vice. Hundreds of gods were worshipped among them, and their chief divinity was represented by a black stone, the Kaaba, sacredly guarded at Mecca. It is true that for purposes of trade many devotees of better faiths had dwelt in the cities of Arabia. But that was an age when both Christianity and Judaism were as likely to be known in impure and unworthy forms as in their better guise. Such appears to have been the case in Arabia. Mohammed undoubtedly knew something of both, as his writings show. But neither faith commended itself to him unchanged. He was born of goodly lineage, being of the family of the Koreishites, or guardians of the Kaaba. But he was poor and, like most of his countrymen, uneducated. He had, however, the advantage of a good presence and a

commanding address. His youth was passed as a shepherd. Later he was raised to a position of comfort by marrying a well-to-do widow, Kadijah.

He appears to have been of a serious and earnest nature, and the idolatry of his countrymen weighed upon his spirit. Neither the Christianity nor the Judaism which he saw around him attracted him, possibly, as has been hinted, because of their imperfect exhibition both in garbled holy books and unworthy lives. The one fact that seemed borne in upon his soul was that of the unity of God, in opposition to all forms of polytheism, and to this might be added a sense of the foolishness of all but spiritual worship. His system opened up no place for a priestly caste.

At length Mohammed reported to his friends that in a cave where he retired yearly for meditation and prayer the Almighty, through the angel Gabriel, had communicated to him the fact of God's own oneness, and of Mohammed's mission as the prophet of that truth. For years friend and neighbor laughed at his claims. At length the good Kadijah accepted them, then one and another, till at the end of three years he had forty followers. His townsmen at Mecca derided him, and in 622 A.D. he was forced to flee to the more northern city of Medina. This flight of his, the Hegira, has become the date-mark for Mohammedans, and our year 622 is their year 1.

Up to this time his propaganda had been a peaceful one, but when the men of Medina accepted him, and popularity made him strong, he developed the idea of forcing people to accept his faith. At root it was but the later allegedly Christian principle of the Inquisition. Mecca was subdued, and by the time of the prophet's death in 632 A.D. his faith and his conquests had



SEAL OF MOHAMMED.

spread over Arabia, and even into Syria, where the conclusion of arms had been tried with the soldiers of the Roman empire.

The Koran.—Before he died Mohammed had embodied the principles of his faith in the Koran. The cardinal principle has been already stated, viz., that of the unity of God, and the mission of the prophet. God was conceived of, not, as by the Jew, mainly as the exponent of righteousness; nor, as by the Christian, as a loving Father. The Koran teaches its votaries to adore and reverence one who is chiefly distinguished by his stern unalterableness. Of course he is represented as righteous; but the Mohammedan sees in God first and foremost a distant potentate who has ordered things to be as they shall, and who is the impersonation of fate. This God is worshipped through no mediator, human or superhuman, nor is he propitiated by any sacrifices. Those who believe in him, and especially those who fulfil the precepts of the Koran, and most of all those who die for their faith, will be rewarded by a paradise which is painted in the most gorgeous way, and which appeals to man on the sensual side of his nature. The sinner, if a believer, will reach this paradise at last after years of purgatorial suffering. For the unbeliever there is no hope.

The practical duties set forth in the Koran are chiefly four:

A. The obligation to pray five times a day with face turned toward Mecca;

B. To keep the sacred month of Ramadan as a fast, by abstaining totally from food between sunrise and sunset;

C. To give in charity one tenth of the income;

D. To make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

To these are to be added some minor duties, such as abstinence from swine's flesh and from alcohol. Polygamy, to the extent of four wives for the faithful, is allowed, and slavery is permitted.

Such a faith, while it may not appeal to us either in precept or in practice, was a great advance for the Arabs. We look askance at its polygamy, but it was really in the nature of a restraint upon brutal license. Its slavery was only on a par with that of the Old Testament. Its theological principle, while it seems sterile to us, was a mighty force as over against the prevalent polytheism, and sent forth the Arabs on their wonderful career of conquest.

† **Contrast with Christianity.**—On the other hand, to understand the fanaticism which made Arab zeal burn against Christianity like a consuming fire, we must remember what that Christianity was. The Arab had been taught that God was one, and that he would tolerate no representation of himself or of any created thing. He heard the heated quarrels of the Christians over their questions of the Trinity, three persons in one Godhead. This outraged him. He could not tolerate it. He entered the churches. There he found pictures and images in profusion, and the people prostrate before them. His simple mind could not appreciate the distinction between using these as “aids to devotion” and pure idolatry. To him it was an abomination.

Add to this theological antagonism, the lust of conquest already begotten for the first time in the Arab mind by the triumphs of the new faith on its native soil, and the weak and declining condition of the nearest provinces of the empire, and we have ready to hand the causes for the starting of the great wave of Mohammedan conquest which was to astonish and well-nigh subdue the world.

Mohammedan Conquests.—Syria was the first theatre of conquest. By 637 A.D. it had been torn from the empire, and the most holy shrines of the Christian faith were in infidel hands. There is this to be said for the Moslem faith: while it rejected simple Judaism, and developed Christianity, nevertheless its founder was familiar with both the Old and the New Testament, and ranked Moses and David and Jesus as true and honored prophets of the one God, though

of lesser note than Mohammed. Jerusalem was, in a sense, a holy city to the Moslem, and as such he has held it from the seventh century till the present day, with the exception of the few years when the crusading zeal of Europe won it from him in the Middle Ages.

Persia, which had recently been subdued by Heraclius, was next attacked, and fell an easy prey (632-641 A.D.).

Thence the path of conquest turned westward, and Egypt was reduced by the year 640 A.D. This was a serious loss to the empire. For Egypt was important not only commercially, but, as the home of great refinement and high culture, was one of the strongholds of civilization.

The story is told of the soldier Amrou writing to Omar the caliph, or successor of Mohammed, and asking instructions as to what he should do with the wonderful Alexandrian library with its hundreds of thousands of volumes. Omar answered: "If these volumes agree with the Koran, they are unnecessary; if they disagree, they are pernicious. Let all be burned." But the story appears only long after the alleged event, and contemporaries tell nothing of it. Indeed it is known that the library was in use long after the conquest.

Westward still the fire of conquest swept, and North Africa was destined to another political and religious transformation. Carthage had swayed it in the dawn of history, and had surrendered to pagan Rome; Rome had become first imperial and then Christian; next had come the Arian Vandals; once again the orthodox empire had triumphed; the last turn of the kaleidoscope placed the Saracens in power, and so completely does Christianity vanish that no part of the world is to-day more thoroughly Moslem than North Africa. This had been accomplished by 689 A.D.

The Conquest of Spain.—Asia and Africa were not sufficient. The fair fields of Spain tempted the conquerors across the Strait of Gibraltar. In 711 A.D. the transit was made, and gradually the kingdom of the Visigoths was subdued, to be held until the year of the discovery of the new world by Columbus.

The Battle of Tours.—Farther north the intruders swept. The Pyrenees were passed, and it seemed as if the Frank might share the fate of the Visigoth. So he might, if it had lain with the decadent line of Merovingian kings to prevent it. But in the year 732 A.D. Karl, the prime minister of the Frankish king, met the Saracens near Tours, and after one of the fiercest battles of history turned them back forever from France. Who shall say how different might have been the complexion of history to-day if Saracen instead of Frank had won? We shall hear, in the later story, of this soldier who won for himself by that day's victory the title of Martel, the Hammer.

Rival Caliphates.—Islam, the religion of Mohammed, has suffered the common fate of all great religions. Every faith that lives seems to propagate division. Buddhism has numberless sects. Christianity is divided into Greek, Roman, Coptic, and a hundred Protestant branches. So rival claims to the successorship of the prophet speedily and inevitably rose. And in Bagdad on the Tigris, in Cairo, and in Cordova three caliphs each professed to be the legitimate head of the faithful. In this disunion was a solace for Christianity. For, undivided, the hosts of Islam might have been able to work far worse mischief than they did upon the Christian world.

As it was, the eastern empire through all the remainder of its life had for its chief task the defence of its borders, and finally of its very capital, against the Moslem.

Services of Islam.—It is hardly within the scope of this history to trace certain benefits which began to be manifest only much later than our period, but some allusion to them may not be out of place. The career of Mohammedan conquest, and the presence of the Saracens in Spain, were not an unmixed evil. For dark times were come upon the old Roman world. It had taken in a vast mass of the Germanic peoples. These people were indeed to be the renovators and the saviors of society, by virtue of certain qualities of

theirs which we have recently traced. But it took the older world a long time to assimilate them; or better, it took them a long time to assimilate what they found in southern Europe. The work to be done was much the same as if among the seventy millions of the United States there were injected a hundred million Chinese as conquerors. They might try to carry on things in our old way, but would fail of course. So in Europe after the fifth century there followed five hundred years when the invaders were getting used to their new surroundings, when languages were forming, when institutions compounded of the old and the new were crystallizing. It was an age first of fermentation and later of clarifying. Naturally we must not look for much origination and advance. In these ages art is dead. Sculpture is unknown, painting is confined to illumination of a few books of devotion, architecture is dormant; poetry is doggerel, oratory finds no forum, and history is monkish chronicle; while science is abandoned. A few great thinkers testify from age to age that human genius is not dead. But the era is a winter of the human mind in western Europe. Everywhere but in Spain. Here the Saracens, borrowing from the Greeks whom they had known in the east, carry forward mathematics and physical science to a height beyond what the Greeks had known, and in material civilization possessed refinement undreamed of in Italy, France, Germany, or Britain. They were fairly tolerant too, and willing to share their knowledge with the Christian. So the latter sat at the feet of the Moslem intruder, and learned his precious secrets. And thus the lamp of learning was kept alight, ready to kindle the larger flame when the Christians were ready for the blaze.

A host of words, scientific terms and names of products, testify the debt of the western world to the intruders or their coreligionists of the east. Alchemy, alcohol, almanac, algebra, alembic, alkali, chemistry, the names of a thousand stars, are here included. Muslin gets its name from Mosul, damask and the damson plum from Damascus, gauze from Gaza, and so on.

And the Moslems, moreover, by lopping off from the eastern empire its outlying parts, which were less purely Greek, possibly did it a good service. For what was left was Greek and homogeneous, and better able to fight the battle for life, and to maintain its own faith and its own culture in the troublous years from the seventh century to the fifteenth.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

CHARLES THE GREAT AND THE NEW EMPIRE.

Conditions in the Eighth Century.—The process of amalgamation of the invading Teutons and the older citizens of the empire went on apace after the establishment of the several new kingdoms, but with many hindrances. The times were unsettled. Governments were weak. Foes were many. The Moslem threat, particularly, was always present. In Africa and Spain it had proved more than a threat. The Vandal kingdom had utterly perished. The Christians of Spain were forced into the mountain retreats or to accept a position of tributary dependence upon the caliphs. In Italy there was a threefold contest going on. The Lombards held their duchies at various points in the peninsula. Part of it was still subject to the eastern emperors, and administered by the exarch at Ravenna. The pope was looked upon by many as the leading character in Italy, although he was nominally subject to the emperor. There was continued friction among these three powers.

Some progress of course was being made even in Italy, as well as in Gaul and Spain. German and Roman were coming to understand one another better; to borrow from each other's speech and law and custom. The Christian Church was acting as the great solvent and compounder of the diverse elements of society. Slowly were being formed what we now call the Romance peoples and the Romance languages. The one need of the times was law and order. Let settled conditions come, and society was bound to





progress. For the soil was good, and the seed, which had long been sown, was full of vitality.

The Frankish Kingdom.—The one exception among the new kingdoms was the Frankish. We do not say France, because the limits of France to-day are quite different from those of the kingdom we are studying. It must steadily be borne in mind that it was rather German than French in any modern sense.

These Franks were almost the only one of the barbarian peoples who since their advent to power had been able to hold their own and more. For one thing, they were very numerous. Many tribes were in more or less real subjection to the Frankish king. Their territory was immense, extending from far into what is now central Germany to the Bay of Biscay. They were far enough from Constantinople to be out of the reach of interference and intrigue from that source. Unfortunate Spain was a barrier for them against the Moslems. Only once had the hordes of Islam seriously threatened them. The story of the battle of Tours has been told. There was also in the Franks a native energy and capacity for progress that marked them out as the people who, under the favoring circumstances just named, were bound to make rapid progress. What was needed just at this epoch was the advent of some man of wide view and great organizing power. Events were shaping toward the production of just such a man.

The Mayors of the Palace.—Clovis had been every inch a king. But the expected had happened in his house, and his successors were unable to sustain his royal tradition. Weaker and weaker grew the Merovingians, until in the early eighth century we find them but shadows. The title of *les rois fainéants*, the do-nothing kings, has been bestowed upon them. But when such weaklings occupy and degrade a throne, the real power necessarily falls into abler hands, or else anarchy comes. That it did not come among the Franks was due to certain able administrators. These men

bore the title of "mayors of the palace." The office finally, like that of the king, had become hereditary. Its occupants became more and more powerful. Charles, who came to it in succession to his father Pippin, won for himself the name of Martel, the Hammer, by his repulse of the Moslems at Tours (732 A.D.). His son Pippin won for himself not only the royal power, but the royal name as well.

Pippin becomes King.—It will be remembered that from their first conversion the Franks had been orthodox Catholics, and not Arians as were most of the Germanic invaders. On this fact hung mighty issues. It served to link the Franks and the papacy in very close union during the times when the church was troubled by Arian hatred and opposition. And at the period now under review the papacy was in sore straits. For the Lombards, who seem to have been the least tractable of the invading nations, were harrying the pope, not so much with their heresies, as by trespassing upon the territories which he deemed his own. The popes at this time, too, were at least the nominal subjects of the emperors at Constantinople. But the iconoclastic warfare had broken out, and there was bad blood between the secular and the spiritual capitals. Finally the pope excommunicated the emperor. At this juncture the Lombard king attacked the pope, and the latter, in despair, turned toward his faithful Franks for aid. Just as the peril becomes acute, Pippin, son and successor of Charles Martel, asks the pope a question: "Who should be king; he who possesses only the name or he who has the power?" The answer is simple. The pope gives consent to the deposition of the last Merovingian sovereign, and Pippin by Frankish election and Roman anointing becomes king of the Franks. His dynasty is known as the Carolingian, from the name of his great son, Charles. King Pippin speedily rewards his spiritual father by hastening to his aid against the Lombards. The territory of which he despoils them he does not keep for himself, but bestows it upon the pope. In all probability

this is the real beginning of the temporal power of the pope; that is, his claim to rule not merely as spiritual lord over the church, but as secular ruler over a definite territory as well. About this time, also, the fiction was published and believed that Constantine when he abandoned Rome as his capital gave the territory thereabouts to Pope Sylvester in return for a wonderful cure wrought by the latter.

Charles the Great.—King Pippin died in 768 A.D. His son Charles soon came into undivided possession of his sovereignty. And he it is whom we shall now find closing one great age of the history of the Roman empire and beginning another.

Charles was cast in a large mold, both physically and mentally. He would probably have added spiritually as well. For he considered himself, like Constantine and Theodoric and Clovis, a pillar of the church.

Yet, as in the case of his great predecessors, his Christianity was more a matter of outward form than of inward conviction; for the lives of all these great men were stained by deeds of ferocious cruelty. Nevertheless Charles posed as the reformer of the church and the special protector of the papacy.

His activity was many-sided. He was soldier, statesman, and law-giver, as well as churchman. His long reign was filled with military campaigns. On his northeastern frontier the Saxons were to be subdued, and to this task, which the Romans had never been able to accomplish, he bent his energies, and after many years of fighting he reduced these peoples to subjection and to a nominal acceptance of Christianity.



CHARLEMAGNE.

The presence of the Mohammedans to the south was another irritation, and he turned his arms against them. He succeeded in freeing Spain as far south as the Ebro from their control. In this section is to be found to-day the most progressive part of Spain. And some historians have seen in its early deliverance by Charles from the Moslem



THE CATHEDRAL AT AACHEN.¹

yoke one of the secrets of its advance beyond the rest of Spain.

A third enemy who challenged him was the Lombard in Italy. Into this war the hereditary connection of his house with the popes drew him. For again the Lombards were harassing the pope. And once again the appeal came to the faithful Franks. Charles responded and completely subdued the Lombard king, seizing the famous iron crown of Lom-

¹ The domed octagon is the only part attributed to Charlemagne.

bardly, made from a nail of the cross, and placing it upon his own head. As an incident of this war the donation of Pippin to the pope was confirmed.

The Imperial Crown.—Once more Charlemagne was called to Rome to help the pope in a time of disturbance, and while he was worshipping in the great basilica of St. Peter on Christmas Day, 800 A.D., the pope suddenly placed upon the head of the man who was already king of the Franks and of Lombardy a new diadem, one which marked him as Roman emperor. The title by which he was proclaimed was "Charles Augustus crowned by God, great and pacific emperor." Later he assumed the title "Charles the most serene Augustus, Pious, Fortunate, governing the Roman empire, and also by the mercy of God king of the Franks and the Lombards."

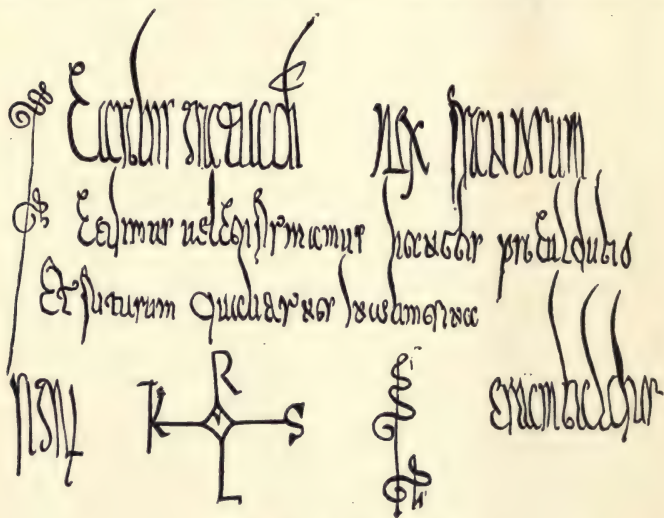
It has been much discussed whether Charles knew beforehand that he was to be crowned that day, and by such a title. It would hardly seem possible that the pope could do such a thing without having some quite definite idea of what the feelings of the great man were. But a plausible explanation seems to be that Charles was meditating some such assumption of imperial dignity, and that the pope at most anticipated what was sure to come.

The Theory of the New Empire.—What the idea of pope and emperor was can best be understood by a review of the situation as regards the Roman empire of that time.

The authority of Constantinople had for some time been extinct in Italy. Its emperor had failed to protect the pope against the Lombards. The Frank had shown himself able and willing to afford such protection. Moreover, the eastern empire had become entirely Greek in language and mode of thought. Its theological tone was different from that of western Europe. The iconoclastic controversy had inserted another wedge between east and west. And last of all, a grave scandal had caused western Christendom to look with very angry countenance upon the court at Constantinople.

Irene, the mother of the emperor Constantine VI., had deposed and blinded her son, and now was reigning in her own name as empress. Such a proceeding was on the one side criminal, and on the other a political innovation.

The west therefore had cause to feel that the empire was vacant and needed to be reconstituted. It must be borne in mind all through that the controlling idea was that the



MONOGRAM OF CHARLEMAGNE.

empire was indivisible.¹ In theory the whole west owed allegiance to the sole emperor. It is even asserted that Charlemagne's idea was to reunite east and west by a marriage with Irene. Certain it is that after his coronation he sought from the Byzantine court a recognition of his claims. This was never accorded, though in later times the court at

¹ In speaking of the empire since its partition in 395 A.D. the terms "eastern" and "western" empire have been freely used. Technically this is wrong. Such a distinction was unknown till after the time of Charlemagne. But it was a practical one, and it seems unavoidable to make use of it.

Byzantium, in dealing with the Roman emperors, for diplomatic reasons did condescend to address them as such on a very few occasions.

There was another reason which controlled the church in the part it played. The idea of one undivided church had taken solid shape under the growing papacy. And the necessary accompaniment of such a church was a secular government to correspond. The Byzantine end of the empire had failed to show itself the harmonious counterpart of the one Catholic Church. The hope was that in the revived empire of Charles there should be found such a fitting counterpart. Church and state were to work hand in hand for the wise control of the Christian world. That such an idea was a dream the future history of the empire and the papacy was to demonstrate. But the idea was a potent one at the time.

The Work of Charlemagne.—The method of the great monarch's government belongs to a new phase of history which lies beyond our scope. For while in a large sense the work of Augustus and Constantine was revived under him, yet in detail, as in spirit, the new administration was conceived and carried out along Germanic rather than Roman lines. Charles has been alluded to as soldier, statesman, and churchman. He made his influence strongly felt in all three provinces.

As churchman he was master rather than servant of the church. Even the pope was subject to him. He convened synods and councils. Under his direction many reforms were instituted, especially in the monastic life, which had grown somewhat lax in the general looseness of the times.

As statesman he governed carefully and strongly. Laws were issued and enforced by the careful inspection of royal commissioners sent out two and two, a churchman and a count, into every district. These inspectors were called *missi dominici*.

Education was a great concern with him. He summoned

to his aid Alcuin, archbishop of York in England, who had made his mark as one of the foremost men of his age.



ST. MATTHEW, FROM EVANGELIARIUM FOUND IN TOMB OF CHARLEMAGNE

Under him a system of schools was devised to remedy the pitiable ignorance of the times. Charles was specially

solicitous about the ignorance of the clergy, and caused sermons to be prepared for their use.

Charles was not French, but German. It is typical of the new era that the legacy of the Cæsars had fallen at last to one of another race and speech—the German.

His fame extended far. Stories are told of his friendship and interchange of courtesies with Haroun al Raschid, the caliph of Bagdad. He is without doubt the one colossal figure of the earlier Middle Ages. His impress is wide and deep upon subsequent history, though many of his peculiar institutions were evanescent, and his dynasty soon passed away. But he did enough to give new life to the imperial system, and to teach men that the ideal was a united Christendom, politically and ecclesiastically.

The great king died in 814 A.D., and was buried in the minster he himself had founded at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), his German capital. He was left sitting upon a throne, with the crown upon his head, his sword in his hand, and open in his lap a copy of the Holy Scriptures: symbolizing his mighty work as conqueror, lawgiver, and chief servant of the church.

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APPENDIX A.

THE ROMAN ASSEMBLIES.

I. The Comitia Curiata.

- a.* It was the oldest assembly, dating from the royal times.
 - b.* It was presided over by the king; later by the consul or magistrate of high rank. The auspices must be taken before its meeting.
 - c.* It was made up of all citizens, voting by head in each of thirty curiæ, and thus determining the vote of the curia. A majority of the thirty curiæ decided the question.
 - d.* (1) Its chief function was to pass the *lex de imperio*, giving to a magistrate already elected the *imperium*, or power of life and death.
 - (2) It dealt also with other questions chiefly relating to matters of transfer from one gens to another, with wills, adoptions, and the like.
-

In the time of Cicero the meetings of this body were frequently attended only by thirty lictors representing the thirty curiæ and by three augurs.

II. The Comitia Centuriata.

- a.* Originating as a military organization under Servius, it was natural that it should assume political power very rapidly in the later monarchy and earlier republic.
- b.* It met in the Campus Martius; was presided over by the consul or some magistrate possessing the imperium. It required the taking of the auspices.
- c.* It was made up of all citizens. They voted at first accord-

ing to the arrangement of Servius, in 193 centuries, of whom the knights made up the first 18, and the centuries of the wealthy first class the next 80, giving to the knights and first class, if they agreed, a majority, so that there was no occasion for the lower classes to vote.

About 241 B.C. a reform was instituted, which gave the organization of this body more relation to the tribes. Under the new arrangement the members of the 35 tribes were divided into 10 centuries, 5 each of juniors and seniors, making 350. To these were added, as under the old arrangement, 18 centuries of knights, 4 of artificers, and 1 of the *proletarii*, making 373 in all. Wealth thus had no longer the same power as of old, since the knights and the 70 new centuries of the first class could muster but 88 votes out of the total 373. The only advantage wealth had lay in the fact that the centuries of the upper classes were smaller than those of the lower. But the number of centuries in each class was now equal.

Within the century the voting was by head.

d. (1) It elected the magistrates who had the *imperium*: consuls, prætors; also the censors and decemvirs and consular tribunes when the two latter classes were in existence.

(2) Appeal lay to it from all capital sentences affecting a citizen.

(3) It passed laws (*leges*). In the later republic laws were for the most part passed either in the comitia tributa or in the *concilium plebis*.

(4) It declared offensive war and ratified treaties. After 287 B.C. the consent of the senate was no longer necessary to the validity of its enactments.

The empire transferred to the *princeps* the war and treaty powers of this assembly. Tiberius took from it the power of election, giving it to the senate, and leaving to the assembly simply a formal act of ratification. This formality is found down to the times just before Diocletian, in the case of imperial elections.

III. The Concilium Plebis.

a. This body originated with the election of the first tribunes of the people, 494 B.C. It rapidly increased in power and soon came to be coordinate with the comitia centuriata in legislation.

b. It could be summoned only by a plebeian official, tribune, or ædile. Its common meeting-place was the Forum. No auspices were necessary until a law of the year 155 B.C. required them.

c. Only plebeian citizens could vote. This they did at first by *curiæ*, but after 472 B.C. by tribes.

d. (1) It elected the tribunes and plebeian ædiles.

(2) Appeals lay to it from fines imposed by these officials. In the later republic its judicial power was considerably increased, until finally the same cause which took away the criminal jurisdiction of the centuriate *comitia* also took away that of the plebeian council. This was the institution of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*.

(3) By the year 287 B.C. it had been accepted that the resolutions of the *concilium plebis* had the same force as laws (*leges*) passed in the centuriate assembly. From that time on the *consilium* and *comitia tributa* became the favorite organs of legislation.

IV. The *Comitia Tributa*.

a. That there was any such organization different from the foregoing *concilium plebis* is strenuously denied, but the great authority of Mommsen pronounces for the fact of its existence. Its origin cannot be traced to any definite legal act or political crisis. It seems to have come into being as a consequence of the organization of the plebeians. Their gatherings, at first tribal, were found so convenient that the whole *populus*, including the patricians, were anxious for a similar organization. Hence its beginning is traced to the middle of the fifth century B.C.

b. It was presided over by the consul, prætor, or curule ædile. The meeting-place was the Forum. Auspices were taken.

c. All citizens could vote. Voting was first of all within the tribes and by head; the majority of the tribes decided; there were 21 tribes in 471 B.C., and after that time 35.

d. (1) It elected curule ædiles, quæstors, and 24 tribunes of the soldiers.

(2) Appeals lay to it from sentences of curule ædiles or the *pontifex maximus*.

(3) It enacted most laws proposed by prætors, and after 200 B.C. a majority of those introduced by the consuls.

The consent of the senate was not necessary to the validity of its enactments after 287 B.C.

A peculiar function of this body was that 17 tribes, chosen by lot, elected the pontifex maximus, and after 104 B.C. the pontiffs, augurs, and several other priestly colleges were elected in the same manner.

APPENDIX B.

ROMAN PROVINCES IN ORDER OF THEIR ACQUISITION OR ORGANIZATION.¹

I Under the Republic.

1.	Silicia.....	B.C. 241
2.	Sardinia and Corsica.....	231
3.	Hispania Citerior }	
4.	“ Ulterior }	197
5.	Illyricum.....	167-45
6.	Macedonia and Achaia.....	146
7.	Africa.....	146
8.	Asia.....	133
9.	Gallia Narbonensis.....	120
10.	Gallia Cisalpina....	81?
11.	Bithynia.....	74
12.	{ Cyrene.....	74
	{ Creta.....	67
13.	{ Cilicia.....	64
	{ Cyprus.....	58
14.	Syria.....	64

II. Under the Empire.

15.	Ægyptus	30
16.	Mœsia.....	29?
17.	Lusitania (by subdivision).....	27?
18.	Achaia (by subdivision).....	27
19.	Galatia.....	25
20.	Cyprus (by subdivision).....	22

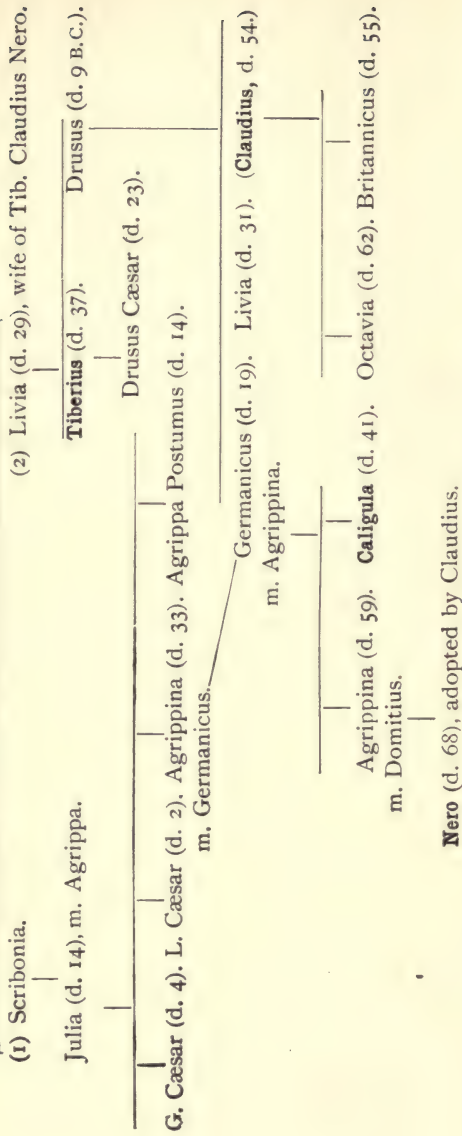
¹ From Bouché-Leclercq's *Manuel des Institutions Romaines*.

21. Aquitania	}	
22. Lugdunensis		
23. Belgica		
24. Rhætia	}	
25. Noricum		15
26. Alpes Maritimæ		14
27. Pannonia		A.D. 10
28. Cappadocia		17
29. Germania Superior	}	
30. " Inferior		17
31. Mauretania Tingitana	}	
32. " Cæsariensis		40
33. Pamphylia and Lycia		43
34. Britannia		43
35. Thracia		46
36. Alpes Cottiae		under Nero
37. Epirus (by subdivision)		" Vespasian
38. Arabia		105
39. Dacia		107
40. Armenia	}	
41. Mesopotamia		115
42. Assyria		
43. Alpes Penninæ (by subdivision)		2d century
44. Numidia (by subdivision)		193-211

APPENDIX C.

FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

Augustus (died 14. A.D.) married :



APPENDIX D.

TABLE OF THE EMPERORS.

- 49-44 B.C.** Cæsar (Caius Julius Cæsar).
27 B.C.—14 A.D. Augustus.
14. Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero).
37. Caligula (Caius Cæsar).
41. Claudius (Tiberius Claudius).
54. Nero (Nero Claudius).
68. Galba (Servius Sulpicius Galba).
69. Otho (Marcus Salvius Otho).
69. Vitellius.
69. Vespasian (Titus Flavius Vespasianus).
79. Titus.
81. Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus).
96. Nerva.
98. Trajan.
117. Hadrian.
138. Antoninus.
161. Marcus Aurelius.
180. Commodus.
-
- 193.** Pertinax (Publius Helvius Pertinax).
193. Didius (Julianus).
193. Septimius Severus.
211. Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus).
217. Macrinus
218. Heliogabalus.

222. Alexander Severus.
 235. Maximian.
 238. Gordian (I.) and his son (II.).
 238. Pupienus and Balbinus.
 283. Gordian the Younger (III.).
 244. Philip the Arabian.
 249. Decius.
 251. Gallus.
 253. Æmilianus.
 253. Valerian and Gallienus.
 260. Gallienus. Period of Usurpers (*Thirty Tyrants*).
 268. Claudius.
 270. Aurelian (Lucius Domitius).
 275. Tacitus.
 276. Florianus.
 276. Probus.
 282. Carus (Marcus Aurelius Carus).
 284. Diocletian.
 286. Diocletian *Augustus* and Maximian *Augustus* abdicated together.
 305. Galerius *Augustus* and Constantius Chlorus *Augustus*.
 306. Galerius *Augustus* and Severus *Augustus*.
 All *Augusti* in 307. {
 306-311. Galerius.
 306-313. Maximian Daza.
 306-337. Constantine.
 306-312. Maxentius.
 306-310. Maximian.
 307-324. Licinius.
 306. Constantine (Flavius Constantinus).
 { 337-340. Constantine II.
 337-350. Constans.
 337-361. Constantius.
 360-363. Julian.
 363. Jovian.
 364. Valentinian } together.
 364. Valens }
 367. Gratian } together.
 375. Valentinian II. }
 379. Theodosius.

WESTERN EMPERORS.

- 395. Honorius.
- 423. Theodosius II.
- 425. Valentinian.
- 455. Petronius Maximus.
- 455. Avitus.
- 457. Majorian.
- 461-465. Libius Severus.
- 467. Anthemius.
- 472. Olybrius.
- 473. Glycerius.
- 474. Julius Nepos.
- 475. Romulus Augustulus.

800-814. Charles the Great.

EASTERN EMPERORS.

- 395. Arcadius.
- 408. Theodosius.
- 450. Marcian.
- 457. Leo I.
- 474. Leo II.
- 474. Leno.
- 491. Anastasius I.
- 518. Justin I.
- 527. Justinian.
- 565. Justin II.
- 578. Tiberius II.
- 582. Mauricius.
- 602. Phocas.
- 610. Heraclius.
- 641. Constantine III. or Heraclius II.
- 641. Heracleonas.
- 641. Constans II.
- 668. Constantine IV. Pogonatus.
- 685. Justinian II.
- 695. Leontius.
- 698. Tiberius Absimarus.
- 704. Justinian II. (again).
- 711. Philippicus.
- 713. Anastasius II.
- 716. Theodosius III.
- 717. Leo III., the Isaurian.
- 741. Constantinus V. or VI.
- 775. Leo IV.
- 780. Constantine VI. or VII.
- 797. Irene.
- 802. Nicephorus.
- 811. Stauracius.
- 811-813. Michael I. Rhangabe.

APPENDIX E.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS.¹

Up to the third century the majority of dates in Roman history are uncertain, or at least vary by a number of years, according to the method employed in calculation.

I have followed the chronology of Varro, who places the founding of Rome in 753 B.C.

About the tenth century the Etruscans settled in Etruria, and Greek colonists founded the city of Cumæ.

753 (?) B.C. Rome was founded on the Palatine Hill.

753-756. Romulus. 616-578. Tarquinius.

715-672. Numa. 578-534. Servius Tullius.

672-640. Tullus Hostilius. 534-510. Tarquinius Superbus.

640-616. Ancus Martius.

In the sixth century the Gauls settled in the valley of the Po.

510 (?). The king was replaced by two consuls.

509. The consuls consecrated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

507 (?). Porsenna laid siege to Rome.

498. Creation of first dictator.

496 (?). The Romans defeated the Latins near the Lake of Regillus.

494 (?). The plebeians retired to the Sacred Mount.

493. Rome concluded a perpetual alliance with the Latins. Creation of tribunes of the plebs.

488 (?). Coriolanus came to attack Rome with a Volscian army.

¹ The dates given for the reign of each king are legendary.

- 477 (?). The 306 Fabii were surprised and massacred.
458 (?). Cincinnatus conquered the Æqui.
450. The Decemvirs drew up the Laws of the Twelve Tables.
449. Expulsion of the Decemvirs.
445. Passage of a law permitting marriage between patrician and plebeian. Creation of "tribunes of the soldiers with consular power."
443. Censorship established.
405. Rome began war against Veii (405-396). Currency established.
396. Veii taken and destroyed.
390. The Gauls put the Roman army to flight near the Allia, took Rome, besieged the Capitol, and withdrew on payment of a ransom.
367. The Gauls plundered the outskirts of Rome.
367 or 366. The Licinian law provided that one consul should be a plebeian.
343-341 (?). First war, possibly legendary, against the Samnites.
340. The Latins revolted and were defeated near Vesuvius.
338. Rome destroyed the Latin Confederation.
326. Rome made war on the Samnites (326-304).
321. The Roman army, entrapped in the Forks of Caudium, capitulated and passed under the yoke.
310 (?). The Etruscans entered upon war with Rome and were defeated.
304. The vanquished Samnites made peace.
298 (?). Renewal of Samnite war (298-290).
295. Defeat of Samnites and Gauls at Sentinum.
290. The Samnites were overcome and surrendered. Curius Dentatus subdued the Sabines.
284. Rome conquered the territory of the Senonese Gauls.
283. Defeat of Etruscans and Poii (Gauls) at Lake Vadimo.
282. Rome subjugated the Etruscans.
281. Tarentum made war on Rome (281-272).
280. Pyrrhus, called to aid Tarentum, defeated the Romans at Heraclea.
279. Pyrrhus, victorious at Asculum, concluded a truce.
275. Pyrrhus was defeated at Beneventum.

272. Rome took Tarentum and subjugated the peoples of central Italy.
266. Rome completed the subjugation of Italy.
264. Rome began the first Punic war in Sicily (264-241).
263. Hiero, king of Syracuse, was forced into alliance with Rome.
262. The Roman army took Agrigentum.
260. Rome scored her first naval victory at Mylæ.
256. Regulus, after conquering the Carthaginian fleet, landed in Africa and laid siege to Carthage.
255. Regulus was defeated and taken prisoner.
250. The Romans, by the victory of Panormus, gained the mastery of almost the whole of Sicily.
249. Two Roman fleets were defeated and destroyed.
247. Hamilcar assumed command of the Carthaginians in Sicily.
244. Hamilcar entrenched himself on Mount Eryx.
241. Carthage, defeated in the Ægatian Isles, made peace and gave up Sicily.
240. The mercenary revolts against Carthage began the Truceless War (240-238).
238. Rome took Sardinia from Carthage.
237. Hamilcar began to subjugate Spain to Carthage.
228. Hasdrubal founded Carthagera. The Romans settled in Illyria.
225. The Gauls invaded Etruria and were defeated at Cape Telamon.
222. Rome subjugated the Cisalpine Gauls.
219. Hannibal took Saguntum.
218. Rome began the second Punic war (218-201). Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees, the Rhone, the Alps, defeated the Romans at the Ticinus (Tesino) and at Trebia.
217. Hannibal destroyed a Roman army near Lake Trasimene.
216. Hannibal destroyed a Roman army at Cannes and wintered at Capua.
215. Hannibal made alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia. War against Philip (215-205).
212. Marcellus took Syracuse.

211. The Romans, in spite of Hannibal, succeeded in taking Capua.
210. The Romans defeated Carthage in Spain and took Carthage.
207. Asdrubal, coming from Spain into Italy, was defeated and killed at the Metaurus. Hannibal withdrew into Bruttium.
206. Rome completed the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain.
204. Scipio landed in Africa.
203. Carthage, in her distress, recalled Hannibal.
202. Scipio defeated Hannibal at Zama.
201. Carthage sued for peace. End of the second Punic war.
200. Rome declared war against Philip of Macedonia (200-196).
197. Philip was defeated at Cynoscephalæ.
192. Antiochus, king of Syria, made war on Rome (192-189).
191. Antiochus, defeated at Thermopylæ, was driven from Greece.
189. Antiochus, defeated at Magnesia in Asia, made peace.
171. Rome declared war against Perseus (171-167).
168. Perseus was defeated at Pydna and taken prisoner.
150. Viriathus began war in Lusitania (150-140).
149. Rome began the third Punic war (149-146).
146. Scipio took Carthage and destroyed it. Mummius captured and destroyed Corinth.
143. The Numantian war began in Spain (143-133).
133. Scipio captured and destroyed Numantia. Tiberius Gracchus, tribune, carried an agrarian law. He was assassinated.
125. Rome, on the appeal of Massilia, began war in Transalpine Gaul.
123. Gaius Gracchus, tribune, carried a number of agrarian laws.
121. Gaius Gracchus was assassinated.
- 122-118. Rome defeated the Allobroges and Arverni, subjugated the *Provincia*, and founded Aix and Narbonne.
113. The Cimbri and Teutons appear in the neighborhood of the Alps.
112. Rome began the Numidian war against Jugurtha (112-106).

107. Marius was elected consul and defeated Jugurtha.
106. Jugurtha was delivered to Marius.
105. The Cimbri and Teutons, in a fourth victory over the Romans, destroyed two Roman armies near Orange.
102. Marius destroyed the Teutons near Aix.
101. Marius destroyed the Cimbri near Vercellæ.
100. Saturninus and Glaucia carried laws against the will of the senate and took the Capitol. They were both killed.
91. The discontented allies began the Social War (91-98).
90. Rome was at first defeated, and granted the right of citizenship to all allies that had remained faithful.
89. Rome after her victory extended the right to the whole Italy.
88. The Greeks in Asia, oppressed by the Romans, rose and massacred them. Mithridates conquered Asia and attacked Greece.
87. First civil war in Rome between Marius and Sulla. First war against Mithridates (88-84).
86. Sulla took Athens and drove the army of Mithridates from Greece.
83. Sulla returned to Italy with his army. Second civil war (83-82).
82. Sulla was victorious and was made dictator; proscriptions; Cornelian laws.
79. Abdication and death of Sulla.
78. Sertorius began war in Spain against the senate (78-72).
74. Last war against Mithridates (74-63). Lucullus victorious at Cyzicus.
73. War against Spartacus (73-71).
70. War against Tigranes, king of Armenia (70-66). Pompey and Crassus joined against the senatorial party and repealed the laws carried by Sulla.
69. Lucullus defeated Tigranes and took Tigranocerta.
67. Pompey, given command of the war against the pirates, restored the safety of the seas.
65. Pompey, given command of the war against Mithridates, forced the latter to flee.
63. Mithridates killed himself. Pompey settled affairs in Asia. Cicero put down Catiline's conspiracy.

60. Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar formed a triumvirate.
58. Cæsar began the Gallic wars (58-50), driving the Helvians and Ariovistus from Gaul.
57. Cæsar subjugated the Belgic Gauls.
56. Cæsar subjugated the Gauls of the south and west.
55. Cæsar crossed the Rhine and also landed in Britain.
54. Revolt of the Gauls of the north.
53. Cæsar subjugated the Gauls. Crassus was defeated and killed by the Parthians.
52. The Gauls revolted, led by Vercingetorix. Cæsar, driven from Gergovia, besieged and took Vercingetorix in Alesia. Pompey, elected sole consul, became Cæsar's enemy.
49. Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Cæsar, after victory in Spain, was made dictator.
48. Pompey was defeated and killed at Pharsalus.
46. Cæsar, after conquering the Pompeians in Africa at Thapsus, was made dictator for ten years.
45. Cæsar, after conquering the Pompeians in Spain at Munda, was made dictator for life and emperor.
44. Cæsar was killed. The Mutina (Modena) war between Antony and the conspirators.
43. Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus caused themselves to be appointed triumvirs; proscriptions; death of Cicero.
42. Brutus and Cassius, defeated at Philippi, killed themselves. The triumvirs divided the empire among themselves.
39. The triumvirs made peace with Sextus Pompey.
36. Octavius defeated S. Pompey and Lepidus and remained sole master in the west.
31. Octavius defeated Antony at Actium and reigned alone.
27. Octavius, becoming Augustus, began to organize the empire.
25. War against the mountaineers in Spain (25-19).
12. Drusus made war on the Germans (12-9). Tiberius made war on the Pannonians (12-9).

Birth of Christ. Beginning of the Christian Era.

- 4-6 A.D. Expeditions into Germany under Tiberius, with an war against Marbod, king of the Marcomanni.
9. General revolt of Pannonians put down by Tiberius. The Germans destroyed the army of Varus.

11-16. Expeditions into Germany under Germanicus.

14. Death of Augustus. Accession of Tiberius. Uprising of the legions of Pannonia and Germany.

23. Sejanus gathered the prætorians together in a camp near Rome.

31. Sejanus was put to death.

37. Caligula emperor.

41. Caligula was killed, and the prætorians proclaimed Claudius as his successor.

43. The Romans began the conquest of Britain.

54. Nero was proclaimed emperor.

55. Nero caused Britannicus to be put to death.

60-61. The Britains revolted and massacred the Romans; they were conquered and subjugated.

62. Death of Burrus.

64. Burning of Rome. Persecution of Christians by Nero.

65. The Piso conspiracy. Death of Seneca.

66. Revolt of the Jews. War in Judæa (66-70).

68. The armies rebelled against Nero. Nero killed himself. Galba recognized emperor. The prætorians killed Galba and proclaimed Otho emperor. The army in Germany proclaimed Vitellius.

69. War between the prætorians and the army in Germany. Otho was defeated and killed himself. War between the army in Germany and the armies in the east. Vitellius was defeated and killed. Vespasian emperor. Civilis incited an insurrection among the Batavians. Revolt in Gaul.

70. Subjugation of Batavians. Jerusalem taken and destroyed.

79. Eruption of Vesuvius.

78-85. Wars of Agricola in Britain.

96. Domitian was killed. The senate proclaimed Nerva his successor.

101-102. Trajan conquered the Dacians.

105-106. Trajan subjugated Dacia and made of it a Roman province.

114-117. Victories of Trajan over the Parthians.

120-134. Journeys of Emperor Hadrian about the Empire.

132-135. Jewish insurrection.

161. Death of Antoninus. Joint succession of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

162-166 (?). War against the Parthians.

167-175. Barbarians from the Danube threatened to invade Italy and were repulsed.

177. Martyrdom of Christians in Vienne and Lyon.

178-180. Marcus Aurelius conquered the Danube barbarians.

193. The prætorians assassinated Pertinax and sold the empire to the highest bidder. The armies of Syria, Britain, and the Danube each proclaimed an emperor.

194. Septimius Severus was recognized emperor in Rome. Pescennius Niger was overcome and killed in the east.

197. Albinus was overcome and killed in Gaul.

208-211. Expeditions of Septimius Severus into Britain.

212. Caracalla killed his brother Geta. An edict declared citizens all inhabitants of the empire.

213. First attack of Alemanni on the empire.

217. Caracalla was killed by Macrinus.

218. The army in Syria revolted against Macrinus and proclaimed Heliogabalus emperor.

222. Heliogabalus was assassinated by the soldiers.

226. In the kingdom of the Parthians the dynasty of the Arsacidæ was replaced by that of the Sassanidæ.

233. The Parthians invaded the Roman Empire.

235. Alexander Severus was assassinated by army of Germany and succeeded by Maximian the Thracian.

236. Wars between Maximian and the emperors recognized by the senate; Maximian was killed by his soldiers; the prætorians killed the senatorial emperors.

241. Victory over the Parthians.

244. Gordian was killed by Philip the Arabian.

249. Philip was overcome and killed. Decius succeeded him.

250. Decius persecuted the Christians. Invasions of Goths.

251. Decius was killed fighting the Goths.

253. Wars between the armies. The Parthians invaded Syria, the Germans Gaul and Italy, the Franks Gaul and Spain, the Goths Asia and Greece.

260. Valerian was overcome and captured by the Parthians.

260-268. Revolt of the generals (Thirty Tyrants).

- 268.** Claudius defeated and subjugated the Goths.
- 270.** Aurelian repulsed the Alemanni. A battle was fought about Rome on the wall of Aurelian.
- 272.** Aurelian defeated Zenobia and regained control of the east.
- 274.** Aurelian defeated Tetricus and regained control of Gaul.
- 275.** Aurelian was assassinated; the soldiers charged the senate with the election of an emperor.
- 277.** Emperor Probus drove the Germans from Gaul and fortified the frontier.
- 282.** Probus was assassinated by the soldiers.
- 284.** Carus, after defeating the Parthians, was killed. Diocletian began to reorganize the empire.
- 285.** Maximian defeated the Bagaudæ in Gaul.
- 286.** Diocletian gave the title of *Augustus* to Maximian.
- 292.** Diocletian divided the empire between the two Augusti and the two Cæsars.
- 303-311.** Persecution of the Christians.
- 306.** Constantine was proclaimed emperor by the army in Britain, Maxentius by the prætorians in Rome.
- 307.** First civil war. Severus was taken and killed. Six Augusti.
- 312.** Second civil war. Maxentius was defeated by Constantine at the Milvian Bridge and was drowned.
- 313.** Third civil war. Maxentius was defeated by Licinius and killed himself. Edict of Milan.
- 314.** Fourth civil war. Licinius, defeated by Constantine, yielded Illyria to him.
- 323.** Fifth civil war. Constantine, after defeating Licinius, reigned alone.
- 325.** First œcumenical council at Nicæa.
- 326.** Constantine founded Constantinople.
- 337.** Constantine's three sons succeeded him as joint emperors; the soldiers massacred the rest of his family.
- 340.** Constantine II., after defeating his brother Constans, was killed.
- 350.** Constans was killed and succeeded by Magnentius.

351. Constantius defeated Magnentius and was left sole emperor.

355. Julian was sent into Gaul against the Alemanni.

357. Julian defeated the Alemanni near Argentoratum.

360. Julian was proclaimed emperor at Paris.

361. Julian, as sole emperor, persecuted the Christian Church.

363. Julian defeated the Parthians, but was killed in battle.

364. Valentinian divided the empire with his brother Valens and drove out the Germans.

376. The Goths, who had taken refuge within the empire, began war against Valens.

378. Valens was defeated and killed at Adrianople; the Goths invaded the empire.

379-382. Theodosius subdued the Gauls and established them on the Danube.

383. Gratian was assassinated and Maximian proclaimed emperor.

388. Theodosius defeated and killed Maximian.

392. Arbogastes killed Valentinian II. and proclaimed Eugenius emperor. Theodosius forbade the worship of idols under penalty of death.

394. Eugenius was defeated and killed.

395. Theodosius divided the empire between his two sons and died. Arcadius took the east; Honorius the west.

402. Alaric invaded Italy; battle of Pollentia.

406. Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians invaded Gaul.

408. Theodosius II., emperor in the east. Death of Stilicho. Alaric invaded Italy.

410. Alaric captured Rome. Vandals and Suevi settled in Spain.

415. Visigoths settled in Gaul and Spain.

429. The Vandals crossed to Africa.

439. Carthage was captured by the Vandals.

449. Anglo-Saxons settled in Britain.

451. The Huns were defeated at Châlons.

452. Attila invaded Italy.

453. Attila died.

455. The Vandals under Gaiseric sack Rome.

456. Patrician Ricimer made Marjorian emperor.

- 461. Patrician Ricimer made Severus emperor in the west.
- 467. " " " Anthemius emperor.
- 472. " " " Olybrius emperor.
- 475. Orestes made his son Romulus Augustulus emperor in the west.
- 476. Romulus was deposed by Odoacer, who became patrician.
- 486. Clovis defeated the Romans at Soissons.
- 489-493. Theodoric conquered Odoacer.
- 496. Clovis accepted Christianity.
- 526. Theodoric died.
- 527. Justinian became emperor at Constantinople.
- 533-4. Belisarius overthrew the Vandals.
- 534. The Franks conquered Burgundy.
- 535-540. Belisarius conquered Italy.
- 565. Justinian died.
- 568. The Lombards invaded Italy.
- 590. Gregory the Great became pope.
- 597. St. Augustine reached England.
- 610. Heraclius became emperor.
- 622. Mohammed fled to Medina; the Hegira.
- 711. The Moslems invaded Spain.
- 732. Charles Martel defeated the Moslems at Tours.
- 751. Pippin supplanted the last Merovingian, and became king of the Franks.
- 756. Pippin made his "Donation" to the pope. Caliphate of Cordova founded.
- 768. Charles the Great became king of the Franks with his brother Carloman.
- 771. Charles became sole king.
- 774. Donation of Charles the Great to the pope.
- 780. Constantine VI. became emperor at Constantinople.
- 800. Charles the Great was crowned emperor at Rome.
- 814. Death of Charles the Great.

APPENDIX F.

A LIST OF SOURCES AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH AND OF USEFUL BOOKS FOR PARALLEL READING.

SOURCES.

Ammianus Marcellinus	Roman History, tr. by Yonge (Bohn).
Appian	Roman History, tr. by White (Macmillan).
Augustus	Monumentum Ancyranum, tr. by Fairley (Vol. V, No. 1, Translations and Reprints, Univ. of Penn.).
Bede	Ecclesiastical History, ed. by Giles (Bohn).
Benedict	Rule of St. Benedict, in Henderson's Select. Historical Documents.
Boethius	Consolation of Philosophy, tr. by Fox (Bohn).
Cæsar	Commentaries (Bohn).
Cassiodorus	Letters, tr. by Hodgkin.
Cicero	Orations, tr. by Yonge (Bohn).
“	Letters, tr. by Shuckburgh (Bohn).
“	The Republic, tr. by Hardingham (Quaritch).
Einhard	Life of the Emperor Karl the Great, tr. by Glaister.
Eusebius	Ecclesiastical History and Life of Constantine, tr. by McGiffert (Christian Lit. Co.).
Eutropius	Abridgement of Roman History, tr. by Watson (Bohn).

Florus	Epitome of Roman History, tr. by Watson (Bohn).
Josephus	Jewish Wars, tr. by Whiston.
Justin	History of the World, tr. by Watson (Bohn).
Justinian	Institutes, tr. by Moyle.
Lactantius	On the Deaths of the Persecutors, tr. by Fletcher (Christian Lit. Co.).
Livy	History of Rome, tr. by Spillan (Bohn).
Mohammed	The Koran, tr. by Palmer (Sacred Books of the East).
Nepos	Lives of Eminent Commanders, tr. by Watson (Bohn).
Paterculus	Compendium of the History of Rome, tr. by Watson (Bohn).
Plutarch	Lives, tr. by Stewart and Long (Bohn).
Polybius	Histories, tr. by Shuckburgh (Macmillan).
Sallust	The Jugurthine War, and Conspiracy of Catiline, tr. by Watson (Bohn).
Suetonius	The Lives of the Twelve Cæsars, tr. by Thomson (Bohn).
Tacitus	The Annals, History and Germania (Bohn).

GENERAL HISTORIES OF ROME.

Arnold, T.	History of Rome, 3 vols.
Duruy, V.	History of Rome and the Roman People, 8 vols.
Gibbon, E.	The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. by J. B. Bury, 6 vols.
Ihne, W.	History of Rome, 5 vols.
Mommsen, T.	History of Rome, 4 vols.

HANDBOOKS OF ROMAN HISTORY.

Botsford, G. W.	A History of Rome (Macmillan).
How, W. W. and Leigh, H. D. ...	A History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar (Macmillan).
Morey	Outlines of Roman History (American Book Company).
Myers, P. V. N.	Rome: Its Rise and Fall (Ginn & Co.).

- Pelham, H. F.....Outlines of Roman History (G. P. Putnam's Sons).
 Shuckburgh, E. S.....A History of Rome (Macmillan).

WORKS ON SPECIAL PERIODS AND TOPICS.

- Abbott, F. F.....Roman Political Institutions.
 Adams, G. B.....Civilization during the Middle Ages.
 Arnold, W. T.....Roman System of Provincial Administration.
 Beesly, A. H.....The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla (Epochs).
 Boissier, G.....Cicero and His Friends, tr. by Fisher.
 ".....Rome and Pompeii.
 Bradley.....The Goths (Nations).
 Bryce, J.....The Holy Roman Empire.
 Bury, J. B.....The Student's Roman Empire, to 180 A.D.
 ".....The Later Roman Empire.
 Capes, W. W.....The Early Empire and The Age of the Antonines (Epochs).
 Carlyle, T.....Heroes and Hero Worship.
 Church, A. J.....Carthage.
 ".....Early Britain (Nations).
 Church, R. W.....The Beginning of the Middle Ages (Epochs).
 Coulange, F. de.....The Ancient City.
 Creasy, E. S.....Fifteen Decisive Battles.
 Crutwell, C. T.....History of Roman Literature.
 Curteis, A. M.....History of the Roman Empire from Theodosius to Charlemagne.
 Davis, H. W. C.....Charlemagne (Heroes).
 Dennis, G.....The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria.
 Dill, S.....Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.
 Dodge, T. A.....Hannibal and Cæsar (Great Captains).
 Emerton, E.....Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages.
 Farrar, F. W.....Seekers after God.
 Fergusson, J.....History of Architecture.
 Finlay, G.....History of Greece.

Fisher, G. P.	History of the Christian Church.
Forsyth.	Life of Cicero.
Freeman, E. A.	Historical Geography of Europe.
“	History of Federal Government.
“	Historical Essays, 3 series.
“	Three Chief Periods of European History.
“	History and Conquests of the Saracens.
Froude, J. A.	Cæsar.
Gardner, Alice.	Julian (Heroes).
Gilman, A.	The Saracens (Nations).
Green, J. R.	The Making of England.
“	A Short History of the English People.
Greenidge, A. H. J.	Roman Public Life.
Guerber, H. A.	Myths of Greece and Rome.
Guhl and Koner.	The Life of the Greeks and Romans.
Hadley, J.	Introduction to Roman Law.
Hardy, E. G.	Christianity and the Roman Government.
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